1: Shternberg--37 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910) 1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Tungus RU5
Ainu AB6
Sakhalin

/1/

# Classification of the Aboriginal Population of the Amur Region

TAG 197

If a linguistic basis is used for the classification of tribal composition, the aboriginal population of the Amur region /Priamur krai/(the Amur, Primorye, and Sakhalin oblasts) naturally falls into three completely dissimilar groups: 1) the Tungus group of nationalities, spread throughout the entire region and speaking different dialects of the Manchu-Tungus language; 2) the isolated tribe of the Gilyak, whose language is completely different from the languages of the Siberian peoples and in its structure stands closest of all to the American languages; 3) the equally isolated tribe of the Ainu, speaking a language which is completely distinct from both the Siberian languages and the Americanoid languages, and which has preserved in its structure pronounced features of monosyllabism.

AIG 101 142 144

These groups also differ considerably from one another in other essential traits, which testify to a complete absence of tribal kinship among them, specifically: The Ainu with their characteristic trait -- an abundant hair-covering over the entire body and, in particular, the abundant growth of hair on the face -- still represent an unsolved anomaly among the peoples of the Mongolian tribes, one of whose basic traits is the scarcity of facial growth; furthermore, in their material culture, religion, and family structure (characteristic features of maternality /materniteta/), they display peculiarities which rather bring them close to the peoples of Indonesia, and they are completely distinct from both the Tungus group and the Americanoids (1).

1. See the article, "Ainskaia problema /The Ainu problem/," below /untranslated/. Ed.

/1 cont./

G 101 144 As for the Gilyak, although anthropologically they have been assimilated to a considerable extent with the surrounding nationalities, in many features of their material culture and especially in their social structure they stand equally far apart from the Tungus peoples and from their neighbors, the Ainu. Finally, /2/ in one respect both of the latter groups are distinct from the first one. The Gilyak and the Ainu occupy strictly delimited, almost continuous territories (the Gilyak in north and central Sakhalin and on the banks of the estuary and mouth of the Amur; the Ainu -- on southern Sakhalin and on Lake Esso); furthermore, the dialectical distinctions of each of the languages of these peoples are so insignificant that all the members of a tribe easily understand one another, and therefore among each of these peoples a full awareness of its national unity has been preserved. The peoples of the Tungus group, on the other hand, have separated from one another and are dispersed over the entire, huge region, and certain divisions of them speak dialects considerably different from one another.

TAG 131 197

T 131 197

Furthermore, they differ considerably among themselves in their way of life as well, so that, in spite of all their linguistic, anthropological, and historical kinship, they fall into separate, small groups, aware of their tribal individuality.

TAG 121 184

These separate nationalities, separated from one another spacially, historically, linguistically, and, finally, in the realm of material culture, need classification. Such a classification is all the more necessary because certain groups introduced into the ethnography by Schrenck as distinct nationalities actually do not exist.

STAG 121

But on what basis are they to be classified?

S 121 433 Easiest of all would be to construct such a classification on the basis of the economic way of life. If we ignore the southern group -- Manchu, Daur, and Solon, who have little to do with the Russian Priamurye /Amur region/, where they have no significance territorially, then all the remaining nationalities could be divided into two large groups -- some have a reindeer economy, in other words, they are a group of nomad -- reindeer-breeders, such as the Tungus proper, Orochon, Sakhalin Orok; the other

Gi 101 /8 cont./ Their neighbors -- The Sakhalin Gilyak -- call them Ornyr (reindeer-breeders), and, what is particularly notable, G [101] the Amur Gilyak call their neighbors, the Olcha of Schrenck, by this same name, although they now are just as much fishermen -- dog-breeders as the Gilyak themselves, which testifies to the fact Gi [194] that in an earlier time the Olcha and the Orok had one common name and were a single tribe. In fact /9/ there are indications that the Orok actually migrated from the Amur comparatively recently (in the seventeenth century) and, consequently, may con- G [101] stitute one tribe with the Olcha of Schrenck. On the other hand, it is quite curious that the Amur Gilyak call both the Orok and the Orochi by one and the same term, Tozung. Thus, in the nomenclature of the neighbors of the Nani there has been preserved the obvious recollection of three of the nationalities of this group, the Orok, the Olcha, and the Orochi, as ethnically united. I shall add further that the local Russians call the Orok simply Orochon, a term carried from Zabaikalye for the local reindeer-breeders.

Gi [131] The Olcha (live in the lower reaches of the Amur between the settlement of Bogorodskoye and Nizhnetambovskiy). The Gi [614] majority of the clans are of Goldi origin. They call themselves Nani. The Tungus, Orochi, and Negda call them Mamu (of the Amur), the Goldi call them Khyd'ye, Khydzyn, Khydeni (khyde -- down the river), the Amur Gilyak -- Ornyr, i.e., as the Sakhalin Gilyak call the Orok. They do not call themselves Olcha; on the contrary, they and all the Amur Tungus, including the Orochi, call the Sakhalin Orok by that name. It is true that on the Amur there are various clans bearing this name, for example, Ulcha live in the settlement Auri, Ulchan-khala in the settlement Ukhta. The Negidal sometimes call them Ngatku (along with the Goldi), sometimes Olchan -- Orochon (Udyhe) with two pigtails. They call the Negidal Burkà Orochà (on the Udyli), Khynguni; the Goldi -- Goldi or Gogdy (on the Khungari) -- with cut (shaven) forehead, Gi along the Sungari -- Soleni (sole -- up the river). It is interesting [177] that the Olcha have a Gilyak cradle (through the women -- wives [854] from among the Gilyak women).
[582]

/9 cont./

Gi 101 The Orochi. They call themselves Nani, Nane. They are called Orochà and Orochi by the Amur Olcha, and therefore in the presence of Russians they call themselves Orocha and Orochon. The G [101] Gilyak of the lower reaches of the Amur call them Tozung -- as they call the Orok. The Manchuized, more southern branch from Botchi and Samargi, as well as those living along the rivers Bikin, Khoru, and Khungari, are called Kekha, Kera, or Taz, and also Gi [103] Khyd'ye, by their neighbors. The Goldi (in the settlement Chel'tsy) call them Namuka, but call those living along the Khungari and farther -- Kekar. In the settlement Susu, they call them all Namuka without distinction. Those who live along the Gi [197] Anyuyu call themselves Udde. According to the words of the Gi [252] Orochi, their language and the language of the Olcha and Goldi [184] are almost the same. The Olcha and the Orochi smoke fish, while [481] the Goldi prepare it as the Gilyak do. The Orochi have Tungus [199] ski, their yurts are Gilyak.
[342]

The Goldi. They call themselves Nani; the "Upper" Goldi, those living up to Khabarovsk, are called Solibini (settlement Gi 101 Chel'tsy, Susu); those living above Khabarovsk, on the Ussuri and 103 Sungari, are called /10/ Akhani (settlement Susu); the Lower Goldi -- Khyybini (settlement Chel'tsy), Khydzeni (settlement Susu), or Khydzyri (as the Torgonsk call the Voznesensk); they call the Mariinsk (Olcha) Khydze. The coastal Orochi (settlement Chel'tsy) or all of them (settlement Susu) are called Namuka by the Goldi; those living along the Khungari and farther -- Kekar (settlement Chel'tsy); the Tungus -- Kilyr; the Chinese -- Nakà, the Manchu -- Mantszo, the Koreans -- Gaule (settlement Susu). Gi 101 The Negidal call the Goldi (from B.-Mikhaylovskiy to Khabarovsk) Ngatku ("uncut," not shaving the forehead) and Gold ("cut," shaven); the Negidal also call the Olcha Ngatku. The Olcha call G [101] the Goldi -- Goldi or Gogdy (the Khungari) or Soleni (the Sungari). The Amur Gilyak call them Toh, Yadgu.

1: Shternberg--48 E-5 (1890-1897, 1910) 1933 RX2 Gilyak RX2

/11/

# The Gilyak

000 The Gilyak. -- The Social Organization of the Gilyak. -- Materials on the Ethnography of the Amur Gilyak. -- Materials on the Ethnography of the Sakhalin Gilyak. -- The Sakhalin Gilyak. /Page 12 is blank./

/13/

# The Gilyak

## I.

## Territory. Linguistic Isolation. Origin.

131 [161] [101] The small tribe of Gilyak, whose number at the present time does not exceed four and a half thousand persons, is scattered over the vast territory of the entire northern half of Sakhalin Island and the neighboring continental shore, being distributed almost equally between the two regions.

On Sakhalin they occupy the entire shore-line of the western coast from Cape Sakhkotan to the northern extremity of Cape Marii, then on the eastern shore -- from Cape Levenshtern to Cape Delil'-de-lya-Kroyer, and finally, in the interior the island, they occupy the upper and middle reaches of the Tym' River, which is the only significant river of northern Sakhalin.

101 131 167 In southern Sakhalin in the lower reaches of the Poronai River and on the shore of Terpeniye Gulf a few dozen representatives of the Gilyak tribe, who migrated to this alien territory due to fortuitous circumstances only very recently (in the last 30 years), have become lost among the alien Ainu and Orok.

131 On the continent the Gilyak occupy both banks of the lower reaches of the Amur River to the settlement of Geri, and then the banks of the Amur estuary and the seashore: to the north, from the mouth of the Amur to the Kol' River, and to the south to the Choma River. The northernmost boundary of the spread of the Gilyak may be regarded as the mouth of the Tugur River, to which, by the way, the Gilyak only very rarely go on business, not having a permanent place of residence there.

/13 cont./

175 131 Judging on the basis of the small amount of historical data that we have on the Amur region, the boundaries of the Gilyak area of settlement have remained unchanged for the last two and a half centuries.

131 103 162 The greatest density of population is found in the areas of the most abundant fishing, such as: the banks of the Amur and its estuary [villages: Kol' (196 persons), Langr (205), Vayda (184), Mago (154), and others]; on the western shore of Sakhalin, the points Tamlevo, Lyrkryvo (144 persons), Viskivo (116), Nyur (103), Nyanivo, and on the shores of the Sea of Okhotsk the settlements Chayvo, Nyyvo, and others.

●101 The boundaries of the Gilyak territory are highly characteristic. /14/ It is sufficient to take a look at the ethnographic map of the Priamur krai to become convinced that the minuscule Gilyak tribe is surrounded by a complete circle of nationalities foreign to it. Abutting on it from the south on Sakhalin Island are the Ainu, a tribe which was once so numerous that it occupied the entire Japanese archipelago. On the continent the Gilyak are surrounded on all sides by representatives of the great Manchu tribe, and the Tungus nationalities: the Negda, Olcha (in my terminology -- the Amur Nani), the Goldi, the Orochi, the Samagir, and the Tungus proper. Even in the very heart of the Gilyak area of settlement, on the eastern shore of Sakhalin, the Tungus tribe of Orok (in my terminology -- Sakhalin Nani) has penetrated in a thick mass.

The most natural idea that occurs to one is the possibility of tribal kinship between the Gilyak and the Ainu, or their Tungus [144] neighbors. The physical resemblance seems to confirm this idea to a considerable degree. We shall see below, however, that the facial resemblance of these tribes has nothing in common with identity of origin, while the most important, and perhaps the only determinant of tribal identity, language, in this case gives [197] a categorical indication in the negative. For neither in its lexicon, in its phonetics, nor in its grammatical structure does the Gilyak language have anything in common with the languages of the neighboring tribes; furthermore, throughout the Asiatic continent we find no other language which could lay claim to close relationship with the Gilyak language.

/14 cont./

101 The Gilyak are not the only ones who find themselves in
174 such an isolated position in northeast Asia. The Ainu, the
197 Yukagir, the Chukchee, and the Koryak find themselves in the same position. An attempt has even been made to combine them in a common group of Paleo-Asiatics (Schrenck), but the basis of this classification was purely external in character, namely, their common position on the edge of the continent, and the consequent probability that in the course of time these once numerous peoples were in part destroyed and in part driven out by more recent newcomers who came from the interior of the continent to the edge of Asia. All hope of discovering a genetic relationship between the Gilyak and the other tribes has not been lost, however. Hypotheses about a common origin of the nationalities of the Pacific coast of Asia and the tribes of North America were ad-
197 vanced long ago. My own investigation of the Gilyak language convinced me that this hypothesis may finally be fully confirmed. Besides the similarity in the common structure of the Gilyak language and of many American languages, such as the merging of pronouns with verbs and with nouns, the tendency /15/ toward polysynthesism, the extreme mobility of phonetic changes, the types of reduplication, etc., we can point to similarities at particular points which are extremely characteristic. For example, one that is common to all of them is a highly peculiar class system of numerals, according to which different categories of objects can be combined only with the numerals that are peculiar to them, a system to which, so far as I know, there is nothing similar in any of the languages of the Asiatic continent. All this, however, is a problem for the future, perhaps the very near future.

174 Meanwhile, an easier question is still unsolved, the question of how long the Gilyak have occupied their present positions. On the basis of three names borrowed by the Gilyak from the Tungus tribes for animals (the elk, the roe, the badger) found in the lower reaches of the Amur, but absent on Sakhalin, the late academician Schrenck, the only authority up to the present on the ethnology of the natives of Priamur krai, asserted that the original homeland of the Gilyak was Sakhalin Island and that in any case the Gilyak now living on the continent are descendants of immigrants from Sakhalin.
[114] His opinion is based on an obvious misunderstanding. The three

/346 cont./

222 The Gilyak cut down a whole bird-cherry plant for the cherries, but "if blood (red juice) comes, they quit.

/347/

114
113

The Sakhalin Gilyak (1)

1. The present article was published in Etnograficheskoe Obozrienie, 1893, No. 2. It was discussed at that time by F. Engels in an article in Die Neue Zeit. Ed.

I.

● 101

The Origin of the Gilyak and Features of Their External Life

Like the Ainu, in whose language the word "ainos" means "man," the Sakhalin Gilyak, too, call themselves "nivukh," which means: man, master, Gilyak (2). Their customary name,

2. The Amur Gilyak call themselves "yavese."

"Gilyak," was, in my opinion, formed from the distortion by travelers of the word "kile," which means "Tungus" in the language of the Amur Gilyak, with whom travelers first had contact. And such a distortion could very easily have occurred because the Gilyak of the lower reaches of the Amur speak the same language as the Tungus, who, according to their legends, form one "people" with the Gilyak, the Goldi, and the Orochon. It is also quite possible that because of the common language of the Amur Gilyak and the Tungus, the Manchu, who formerly ruled the Amur region, called the Gilyak and the Tungus by a common name, "kile." But the ease with which national antagonisms

/347 cont./

101 spring up even between primitive peoples is curious and yet characteristic: the Tungus with indignation and proud contemptuousness deny their kinship, not only with the Gilyak, but even with the Orochon, saying: "We are the Tsar's people and baptized, while the Gilyak and the Orochon eat dogs!"

101 829 The Gilyak themselves include themselves in the Mongol-Manchu tribe, asserting that the Gilyak and the Manchu are "khal-nyakhr" ("khal" -- clan, people, tribe; "nyakhr" -- one). The Gilyak also consider the Chinese and the Japanese kindred peoples, saying that a Manchu was "ytk-utgu" (father, ancestor, man), and a Japanese was "ytk-umgu" (ancestress, woman), an assertion which will be clear from the material below. 197 The Sakhalin Gilyak speak a language in common with the language of the Gilyak /348/ living at the mouth of the Amur and on the continental coast of the Tatar Strait, but quite distinct from the language of the Lower Amur Gilyak and the Tungus.

103 129 174 As to the question of the appearance of the Gilyak on Sakhalin, there is no doubt that they are arrivals from the continent. The materials of the 1891 census and observations and interviews with the Gilyak equally confirm in this case a conclusion which could have been made a priori. The census first of all proved that the settling of the island by the Gilyak went from the north to the south. The ancestors of the Gilyak of the settlement of Tyka, for instance, came from the settlement of Nyur, which is the northernmost settlement on the western shore of [614] Sakhalin. Of the two foremost clans in the settlement of Arkyyvo, one comes from the settlement of Nyanivo (in the north of Sakhalin), the other from the settlement of Tanga, whose inhabitants in turn belong to the ancient clan of the settlement of Choma (on the continent), etc. The census further proved that each clan of the Sakhalin Gilyak is only a branch of a clan which lives along the continental coast. Finally, the language, [184] religious beliefs, customs, and morals and manners of the Sakhalin Gilyak are identical with those of the Gilyak of the continental coast,

/15 cont./

G 131 that in itself indicates the role that sea and river play in the lives and the economy of these people. At the same time, with such a location and limitation of their area of distribution, the Gilyak G 101 179 have no neighbors to the north and east, and therefore, in a large part, in fact, the greater part, of it, but only some in the west and south. Here, however, they come in direct contact with many of the Amur peoples, for example, with the reindeer Tungus of the Sea of Okhotsk and of the Stanovoi Mountains, with the Negda, Olcha, and Orochi on the mainland, and with the Orok and Ainu on Sakhalin. Taken together, these factors give the Gilyak, on one hand, an isolated position among the Amur peoples and greater independence, but, on the other hand, they make them the natural connecting link between the peoples of the mainland and of Sakhalin Island, not excepting even the civilized peoples of the two areas, namely, the Chinese and the Japanese.

Though the Gilyak are sharply differentiated from all the Amur peoples through their unique language, nevertheless a manifold mutual intermeshing of the respective areas of distribution takes place on the borders with their above-mentioned neighbors. It has already been mentioned above that on the Tugur and Gi [101] [177] [342] [361] Ulban gulfs, along with the Gilyak, the Tungus, too, pursue their livelihood and erect their easily transportable birch tents beside the Gilyak yurts (3). Indeed, they roam far to the east along the Sea

3. Poplonskij, loc. cit., found Tungus also in Konstantinov Harbor in Ulban Bay.

of Okhotsk, even in the area permanently occupied by the Gilyak; Gi [221] [225] 000 in the winter of 1856 I myself saw their conical tent frames east of Kulj. Some Negda, from the Amgun are said to come annually to the Tugur and Ulban gulfs in order to hunt seals (4). The Negda

Gi [113]

4. Boshniak", "Eksp. v" Pri-Amursk. kraie /An Expedition in the Amur Region/" (Morsk. Sbornik", 1859, No. 2, Unofficial Part, p. 332). Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber. über

G /15 cont./ 4. (cont.)
101
179
Gi
113
den Verlauf der physikal. Abtheil. der Sibir. Expedition der Kais. Russ. Geogr. Ges. in den Jahren 1859-1862 /Historical Report on the Progress of the Physical Section of the Siberian Expedition of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society in the Years 1859-1862/" (Beiträge zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, ed. by Baer and Helmersen, Vol. XXV, p. 148).

Gi
131 The Negda
live permanently along lakes Orel and /16/ Tschlja /Chlya/,
G
[36]
[103] as well as along the river branch connecting them; although there is also a Gilyak village, Tschlja, on the latter. This in-
G
[115]
[114] formation, which I obtained from a trustworthy Gilyak (Judin in Tebach) devoted to me (1), was confirmed by later travelers,

G
[103]
1. According to Judin's information, among the Gilyak Lake Orel is called Kend-tu ("tu" means "lake"), Lake Tschlja And-tu.
Gi
[103]
[361]
On the former lie the villages of Pfyrpi-wo and Kuldsh, on the latter Tschomokr and Tschlja, and, on the branch of the river which connects the two lakes, the village of Kesf (the "s" is weak) -- all Negda villages, with the exception of Tschlja.

Schenurin (2), Schmidt (3). Middendorff, by the way, calls

Gi
[113]
2. Schenurin found Negda or Nigidal yurts on the east as well as on the west side of Lake Orel. See his journal, which has been published in the article, "O novom" puti iz" Nikolaevsk posta, chto na r. Amurie, v" Udskii Ostrog" /On a New Route from the Nikolaysv Post on the Amur River to Udskii

Gi 131 [113] /16 cont./ 2. (cont.) Ostrog/," in Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Bk. III. 1857, Miscellany, p. 11.

Gi [103] 3. "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 148. Schmidt mentions only the Negda village Nemorchon on the river branch that connects the two lakes, Orel and Tschlja (op. cit., p. 142). This name is probably Negda, at any rate not Gilyak.

Lake Orel "Negda Lake" on a map in part based upon Chinese information and still unpublished ("Erster Versuch einer hydrographischen Karte des Stanowoi-Gebirges und seiner Ausläufer, zwischen dem 45. und 62. Grade nördl. Br. /First Attempt at a Hydrographic Map of the Stanovoi Mountain Range and Its Spurs, between 45° and 62° North Latitude/."

G Gi 101 Gi 103 361 In the territory of the Gilyak, their Amur neighbors, the Olcha, have penetrated more deeply than the Negda. To begin there, too, as mentioned above, with the village of Chjare, there lie far to the north of it, on the right bank of the river and surrounded by purely Gilyak villages, two villages, Tschylwi and Tyr, which are inhabited only by Olcha, the former with six, the latter with two winter yurts. And still farther to the north, on the same bank, there is the place Kaberazbach, consisting of only one winter yurt besides accessories, in which at the time of my journey an Olcha, who had a Gilyak wife, governed as head of the household. On the other hand, deep within Olcha territory G [361] one comes across isolated permanent Gilyak sites. For example, of the six winter yurts that make up the village of Aure located only slightly north of Kidsi, I found that three had been occupied by Gilyak for many years. Everywhere these scattered members of an alien people have clung as much as possible to their respective mother tongues and native customs.

A

G /16 cont./
101 It is different from the Amur on the Liman and along the coast of the northern part of the Sea of Japan, in that there on the mainland, between the Gilyak and Orochi areas, there is a considerable stretch of uninhabited territory, which -- for reasons that we shall touch on later -- keeps the two peoples strictly
Gi separated. On Sakhalin, however, with regard to the Ainu and
A Orok, there is repeated, and in part to an even greater degree,
101 what we have seen on the Amur and on the Sea of Okhotsk. On
A the west coast of the island some permanent Ainu families have
G mixed with the Gilyak even before they reach their southern
101 boundary. For example, it was said, as the Gilyak in Arkai told
162 me, that of the villages south of Duĭ, Adngi was still purely
361 Gilyak, Kthĕus contained two Gilyak and one Ainu yurt, Chogranj
103 again was inhabited only by Gilyak, and, finally, Pilja-wo was
A inhabited half by Gilyak and half by Ainu (4). The latter /17/
G
103
361

4. Coming from the north, Schmidt, too, met the first Ainu in Kthĕus, which, moreover, at that time consisted of only two miserable yurts. He likewise calls Chogranj an Ainu settlement ("Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., pp. 65, 66). Again, however, I cannot agree with the version of the names for the above-mentioned places, "Ktausi," "Chokkoran," and "Pil-wo," on Schebunin's map.

A
G
[114]

place bears among the Ainu the designation "Poro-kotan," with
G the same meaning as its Gilyak name, "Pilja-wo," that is,
361 "big village" (1). Beyond this place the coast is uninhabited for
A
G
[113]

1. Rudanofskij, too (Vostochnoe Pomor'e /Eastern Seaboard/, 1866, p. 96), calls Poro-kotan or (Gilyak) "Pile-wo" the first Gilyak village as one approaches from the

A G 103 361 113

/17 cont./ 1. (cont.) south. He counted ten yurts. The Gilyak named only three to me, which makes the designation of the place appear somewhat uncalled for. According to Schmidt, however (op. cit., p. 67), it is said to have actually been a large village in former times, but in his time there were still only three poor yurts. Mizul's statement (Ocherk" ostr. Sakhalina v" sel'skokhoziaistv. otnosh. /Sketch of Sakhalin Island from the Point of View of Agriculture/, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 129) that there are no longer any Ainu north of Pilja-wo (Porokotan) is therefore not quite correct, according to the above.

A [114]

G 361 a long stretch and is only temporarily visited by the Gilyak for their livelihood. Schmidt, for instance, on the river Arokonai, between the capes Tribis and Tunai, met a Gilyak who had been seal-hunting near Otta-endu (2). Occasionally it also

G 361 439

2. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber.," op. cit., p. 71.

happens that Gilyak on trading trips to Ssiranussi, at the southern point of Sakhalin, are obliged to stay somewhere for the winter, and in this case they may easily be taken for permanent inhabitants of the place. The border conditions on the east coast of Sakhalin are more complicated than on the west coast, in that three peoples, Gilyak, Ainu, and Orok, come together there (3). To be sure, the area of the first, as we saw above, ends

G Gi A 101 361

3. See my travel report in the Bull. de la cl. physico-mathém. de l' Acad. Imp. des sc., de St. Pétersb., Vol. XV, p. 171; Mél. phys. et chim. tirés du Bull., Vol. III, p. 11.

G Gi A [113]

G
Gi
A
101
361

/17 cont./
on the coast with the village of Tschamr-wo and in the interior at the headwaters of the Tymy, but nevertheless in the Gulf of Patience, near where a coastal lake empties in the sea, one still comes across a Gilyak yurt, Ssiska, whose inhabitants Schmidt came to know (4). On the same lake there is an Orok settlement,

4. "Histor. Ber.," etc., op. cit., p. 113.

A
Gi
101

Tschogbo, to the north a second one, Taran-kotan, and still farther to the north on Lake Taraika, alongside several Orok settlements, the large Ainu village of Taraika (5). Thus, the

A
361
174
101
114
[113]

5. Schmidt, op. cit., pp. 89, 113, 116. Bickmore ("The Ainos or hairy men of Jesso, Saghalien and the Kurile Islands," Amer. Journ. of Science, May, 1868, p. 13) thinks that there are Ainu also at the northern point of Sakhalin, between Capes Elisabeth and Maria and even sees in this proof that the Ainu were the original inhabitants of the island, while the Gilyak and the Orok (for him, "Orotschi" /Orochi/) were later immigrants. But this information stands quite alone and is evidently only based upon an erroneous interpretation of Russian reports concerning the number of Ainu villages on Sakhalin, since he thought that the villages noted on the "Okhotsk coast" must be erroneously placed there instead of being sought on Sakhalin's east coast. Why the great number of these villages (22) did not seem to him obstructuve for such an interpretation is incomprehensible, especially since in the same report (Rudanofskij's) the total number of the Ainu villages on the densely populated west coast of Sakhalin is given as 35.

A /17 cont./
Gi dwelling sites of these three peoples intermesh here. These re-
101 lationships become even more complicated, however, by the fact that the Orok have shoved in between the Gilyak and Ainu not only here, but also in the northern part of the island, where undoubtedly Gilyak territory extends, they have penetrated deeply into it and roam great distances through it on regular nomadic expeditions. We shall learn more about these relationships in the discussion of the area of distribution of the Orok.

A Just as the Gilyak occupy the extreme northeast, the Ainu
131 occupy the extreme southeast of the Amur region as outlined above, and just as the northern half of Sakhalin Island belongs to the former, so /18/ the southern half belongs to the latter. More-
A over, it is well-known that they represent the indigenous people
[101] of Jesso /Yesso (Hokkaido)/ and the Kurile Islands, since the so-called Kuriles are merely Ainu with a language differing in part dialectally. We have already become acquainted with the habitation sites of the Ainu located farthest north on Sakhalin and on the west coast advancing into the Gilyak area. There has likewise been mention of the uninhabited coastal stretch which extends to the south from Porokotan. It ends at 49° north latitude, and then the part of the island inhabited exclusively by Ainu begins. Thus in the west of Sakhalin this deserted coastal stretch forms the actual boundary between the Ainu and the Gilyak, and evidently special, though obvious reasons, which will be discussed later, were required in order to make many an individual of the former
A people step over this northern border into foreign territory. Coming
361 from the north, the village of Orokes, located on the small bay of the same name and not far from the Bay d'Estaing, is the first
A in true Ainu territory (1). On the east coast it begins, if one
[131]

A
[113]
[114]
[103]

1. According to Rudanofskij (Vost. Pomor'e, 1866, p. 95). Brylkin ("Pis'ma s" Sakhal. /Letters from Sakhalin/."—Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. VII, Irkutsk, 1864, p. 14) gives "Ussuri" as the

2: Schrenck--40 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Goldi RX3
Orok
Orochi
Ainu AB6

Gi 174 167 /21 cont./ words in explanation of it, as well as point out several analogous phenomena in the eastern part of Siberia.

G Gi A 101 If we now sum up the ethnographic picture of Sakhalin, there are, aside from the Japanese and Russians, three peoples of quite different tribes, Gilyak, Ainu, and Orok, who share the possession of this island in the very unequal manner described above. Certainly a rich ethnographic assemblage in view of the, to be sure, great length, but only very small breadth! Through the Gilyak the island is joined to the coasts of the Sea of Okhotsk and the mouth of the Amur River, through the Orok to the rest of the Amur region with its Tungusic population, and, finally, through the Ainu, to Jesso /Yesso/, the Kuriles, and Japan (1).

G Gi A [113]

1. See my travel report in the Bulletin de la classe physico-mathématique de l'Académie Impériale des sciences, Vol. XIV, p. 186; Mélanges phys. et chim., Vol. II, p. 449.

G Gi 101 361 Let us now return again from Sakhalin to the mainland, and, if we go southward from the borders of the Gilyak area already known to us, we first strike the area of distribution of the Orochi on the seacoast. In its farther reaches this includes the entire continental coast along the northern part of the Sea of Japan, the coastal mountains (Ssichota-alin /Sikhote-Alin/), the upper course of the rivers running from these mountains to the lower Amur and to the Ussuri, and the sources of those streams. Along the seacoast, however, the Orochi territory does not directly join that of the Gilyak, but rather between the two there is a wide stretch of uninhabited country, since the last, southernmost place of the Gilyak is Tschomi on the Liman, while the first, northernmost point of the Orochi is Nangmar or de Castries /De-Kastri/ Bay. Between the two and only slightly north of the last-named bay there is the ancient trade route to the sea used

G Gi [487]

G Gi 361 101 [489]

/21 cont./ by the Olcha, Goldi, and probably now and then also the Gilyak, which leads from Lake Kidsi /Kizi/ to Taba Bay and, regarded to some extent as international, perhaps has acted as a barrier to the reciprocal spread of peoples. Moreover, the Orochi population on the coast is so sparse that there probably was no reason for them to advance northward beyond de Castries Bay. The Liman-Gilyak, for their part, however, if they were to spread southward along the continental coast, would be moving farther and farther away from the island of Sakhalin, with the population of which they have a natural and permanent connection through a partial tribal union as well as through many trade interests. Thus, with respect to the Gilyak, there is no /22/ stepping over the mutual boundaries between the peoples (1). It is different

G [114] [113]

1. A completely erroneous and, as we shall see, frequently recurring confusion to be noted in this statement by Dm. Romanof ("Prisoedinenie Amura /Annexation of the Amur/." —Russkoe Slovo, 1859, Aug., Sec. I, pp. 131, 135), Bickmore ("The Ainos or hairy men of Jesso, Saghalien and the Kurile Isl.," Amer. Journ. of Science, May, 1868, p. 14), and others that de Castries Bay is inhabited by Gilyak -- the same people, as the latter believes, whom Rollin, too (in La Pérouse's travel account) has described from there.

Gi 101 361 It is different with the Olcha. For them Lake Kidsi offers a natural route to the sea, on which south of Taba, de Castries Bay is the first deep and protected bay. Therefore, besides the Orochi, they, too, have their permanent habitation sites in it.

Gi 101 /26 cont./
main artery. Sometimes we see their territory reduced to a minimum (2); sometimes, and even more frequently, they

G. Gi 101 114 113

2. For instance, in Swerbejef /Sverbeev/, who does not have the Goldi end until Dshaï and has the Gilyak begin as soon as Kidsi. This would leave for the Olcha, then, little more than the village of Gauwne on the Amur. This error, that the natives of Kidsi and the surrounding area are Gilyak, is repeated almost throughout by the Russian authors, for example, by D. Romanof ("Ocherk" miestnosti mezhdu zal. de- Kastri u riek. Amurom" /Essay on the Locality between De-Kastri Bay and the Amur River/."- Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part 25, 1859, Sec. II [Research and Materials], pp. 134-138); by J. Mewes ("Tri goda v" Sib. i Amursk. stranie /Three Years in Siberia and the Amur Country/."- Otechestv. Zap., Vol. CXLVIII, p. 284), who called Kidsi the principal village of the Gilyak; by Dr. Plaxin ("Primorsk. obl. Vostochn. Sib." - Voenn. Sborn., 1869, No. 12, p. 194), who has the Gilyak begin at Ssofijsk /Sofisk/ (Dshaï) and extend, not only along the Amur and the Sea of Okhotsk, but also beyond the Amgunj /Amgun/ and a part of the Tatar Strait, etc. In the latter, by the way, the Amur peoples are so confused that Mangun and Manegir appear as synonymous designations. The American, Bush (Reindeer, dogs and snow-shoes, London, 1872, pp. 77, 86-89), regards the dwellers on Kidsi Lake as Gilyak. Even Boschnjak, who quite

Gi
Gi
101
113
114

/26 cont./ 2.(cont.)
correctly remarked that a sharp dividing line between the Gilyak and the Mangun lies at the village of Uchtr, in that the former only live below it, but going upstream, the latter begin with the village named ("Eksped. v" Priamursk. kraie."– Morsk. Sborn., 1859, No. 1, Unofficial Part, p. 125), cannot refrain from speaking of the "Kidsi-Gilyak" in another place (M.Sb., 1859, No. 3, Unofficial Part, p. 209).

Gi
101
000

disappear completely by being simply thrown in with the Gilyak (3). Aside from the few above-mentioned Olcha

Gi
101
113
114

3. Pargatschevskij /Pargachevskii/ ("Poiezdka zimn. put. vverkh" po r. Amuru, ot" Nikolaevsk. posta do Ust'–Strielochn. karaula, sovershenn. v" 1856-57 gg. /A Trip by the Winter Route Upstream along the Amur, from the Nikolayevsk Post to the Ust'–Strelochny Guardpost in 1856-57/."– Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch, Part 21, 1857, Sec. II [Research and Materials], pp. 161, 165), for instance, does not know of the Olcha at all, but has the Gilyak extend from the mouth of the Amur to Adi, and from there down the Goldi begin. Likewise Dr. Sperk ("Geografo-patologicheskie ocherki Vost. Sib. /Geographical-Pathological Sketches from Eastern Siberia/."– Mediko-topograf. Sborn., St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 68), who even grants to the Gilyak the whole

H.M. 563 443 439 36 113

/71 cont./

1. (cont.)
kraie /An Expedition in the Amur Region/" (Morsk. Sbom., 1859, No. 2, Unofficial Part, p. 334 and others).

H.M. 563 648 439 G 439 648

The right, relatively thickly populated bank of the Amur and also the left one from its last bend to the east is closed to them, for the Gilyak, although -- as we shall see -- zealous traders themselves, nevertheless permit no Chinese to enter their territory, perhaps out of the just fear that the traders might pave the way for the rulers. On the basis of their own experiences on their trading trips to the Sungari, it is natural for them -- the Gilyak -- to regard the Manchu and Chinese, in contrast to the other Amur peoples, as identical with respect to political power and ruling position, though they distinguish between them with regard to nationality. G 101 114 They also at times simply designate the Chinese with the name "Manchu" -- a circumstance that gave rise to much confusion concerning these peoples on the part of travelers (2).

H.M. 563 114 113 439 101

2. For example, Orlof (cf. Tikhmen'ev", Istor. obozr. obraz. Ross.-Amer. Komp., St. Petersburg, 1863, Part II, p. 84 and others), Tschichatschof (Tichmenjef, op. cit., pp. 89 ff.), Beresin (ibid., pp. 91 ff.), Boschnjak ("Eksp. v" Pri-amursk. kraie."- Morsk. Sborn., 1859, No. 1, Unofficial Part, pp. 115-118, 125, 126; No. 2, Unofficial Part, pp. 332 to 337; No. 3, Unofficial Part, p. 195, etc.), and others constantly refer to the Chinese traders from the lower Amur and from the Amgunj as "Manchu." The same is done by Pargatschefskij /Pargachevskii/ ("Poiezdka zimn. putem" vverkh" po r. Amuru."- Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XXI, 1858, Sec. II, pp. 161, 165) with

/89 cont./

referring specifically to the Amur region. On the map accompanying the first volume of this work I have noted the peoples living along the Amur and its tributaries, as well as on Sakhalin, without, however, defining their respective areas. Later, in 1873, there appeared an ethnographic map of Asiatic Russia by Wenjukof /Veniukov/ on which the Russian part of the Amur region is included (2). Because of the relatively small scale of the whole map, however, only a few square inches could be devoted to the Amur region. Correspondingly, the information is for the most part only summary, in that the individual Tungusic tribes, which occupy almost the whole of the Amur region, are not distinguished at all or at most by a few inscriptions which for the most part are not in the proper place, and there is no mention of any delimitation of their respective areas. In connection with this, these condensed Tungusic tribes of the Amur region are usually erroneously delimited from the other two peoples distinguished on the map, the Gilyak and Ainu. This map therefore actually gives only an approximate total picture of the Tungusic population, by far the predominant one in the Amur /90/ region, into which at that time Russian colonists had already poured along the Amur, the Ussuri, Lake Kengka, and down the Ssuifun to Peter the Great Bay (1). Our map virtually ignores this

2. "Etnograficheskaia karta Aziiatskoi Rossii. Massht. v" angl. diuimie 250 verst" ili 1/10,500,000 /Ethnographic Map of Asiatic Russia. Scale: one English inch to 250 versts or 1/10,500,000/." It accompanies the work by the same author, Opyt" voennago obozrieniia Russkikh" granits" v" Asii /An Attempt at a Military Survey of the Russian Frontiers in Asia/, St. Petersburg, 1873, but it also may be obtained separately.

1. The following special remarks may serve as verification for my opinion of

2: Schrenck--184 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Southeast Siberia RX/

/90 cont./ 1. (cont.)

G
55.
101
114

this map as far as the Amur region is concerned. In spite of the fact that the Gilyak are sharply distinguished from all their neighbors by their language, their territory is correctly shown on the map by Wenjukof only on Sakhalin, but on the continent is delimited incorrectly on all sides. In the north, for instance, it does not begin at Tugur Bay, but to the east of Ulban Bay; in the south, along the Amur River, he has it extend beyond Lake Kidsi toward Ssofijsk /Sofisk/ (where the Olcha village Dshaĭ is located), that is, toward the center of the Olcha territory. From there he draws the southern boundary of the Gilyak to de Castries Bay, where La Pérouse had already quite correctly shown Orochi. On the other hand, he moves them away from the Liman coast, from the mouth of the Amur, and from the adjacent parts of the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk, and puts a Tungusic tribe there, while in reality the Amur-Liman is inhabited all around only by Gilyak.-- On Sakhalin, the map gives too large a territory in the north to the Ainu, in that it is supposed to include the whole Ty or Poronai River area and to extend to the Tym' sources, whereas actually it stops at the Gulf of Patience, and an uninhabited territory frequently visited by Gilyak and Orok lies along the Ty. -- The Orok, which curiously are called "Orokapen" on the map (more about this later), are shown only in that part of Sakhalin in which there is no population at all and are missing at their actual sites. -- The designations for the individual Tungusic tribes of the Amur region

/90 cont./

G
S.S.
101
114

1. (cont.)
are in the wrong places almost throughout: the Orochi, for instance, are shown only in the southernmost part of their extensive territory, almost all the Mangun (Olcha) are shifted into the Goldi territory, the Samagir are transferred to the Amgunj, in place of the Negda, who are not mentioned at all, like the Birar, Manegir, and Orochon. The Daur, who, besides being along the Nonni and Komar, are also along the Bureja and the Amur, and who certainly cannot, like the last-named peoples, be simply subsumed under the general designation "Tungus," are missing entirely on the map, whereas the few Koreans who only recently moved into the Russian area across the Tumen River are shown.

G
S.S.
[113]

The various Tungusic peoples of the Amur region are given still less attention on the ethnographic map of Asiatic Russia which is given in the statistical atlas of the Russian Empire by Iljin (Opyt" statist. atlasa Rossiiskoi Imperii /An Attempt at a Statistical Atlas of the Russian Empire/, St. Petersburg, 1874, Map 14), with an even smaller scale, to be sure. In the Russian part of the Amur region (aside from the Chinese and Manchu), the only indigenous peoples it recognizes, in addition to the incorrectly demarcated Gilyak and Ainu, are the "Tungusen" (in general) and "Golde," whose territory, however, is shown along the Amur from above the Bureja to Mariinsk.

G
S.S.
[113]

Finally, the same errors as those on the Wenjukof map are repeated on the

G
S.S.
101
114
[113]

/90 cont./

1. (cont.)
ethnographic map of the Russian Empire recently drawn up by Petermann (Geogr. Mittheil., 1877, Plate 1), which, for Asiatic Russia, is based entirely upon the information of the former. Despite the much smaller scale, it faithfully copies the boundaries of the Gilyak territory that were shown above as erroneous. The names of the individual Tungusic Amur-peoples, however, are entirely omitted on it, so that the Amur region, with the exception of a short stretch along the lower course of its principal river, like the adjacent part of Eastern Siberia, seems to be inhabited only by "Tungusen."

G
S.S.
114
128

Our map virtually ignores this last factor completely, since it shows the ethnographic situation of the Amur region at a time when the Russians, after a pause of two hundred years, were just beginning to penetrate into the Amur region again, and were not to abandon it from then on. Since the colonization especially followed the principal rivers, the Amur and the Ussuri, it changed the ethnographic conditions chiefly where the indigenous population was most densely settled. It may therefore be that since then many communities of the latter have been displaced, shifted, or reduced, have even disappeared altogether, and their very names as well. And the future will even more take a rapid and relentless course in this direction. Now, since our map /91/ establishes the ethnographic conditions of the Amur region before they were affected by these changes, it can in the future provide a yardstick for the latter. And that can only heighten its scientific interest. How valuable, for example, an accurate ethnographic map of the Amur region at the time of the first Russian invasion would be for us now! How much could be drawn from it for the questions to be dealt with in the next section!

[i.e., The mass immigration of the Russian colonists into the Amur River region--Anahist]

A
G
SS. /91 cont./
114
128
101

Concerning the other point touched on above, the very evident preponderance of the Tungusic population in the Amur region on the comprehensive ethnographic map of Asiatic Russia, this at first glance is less striking on our map, and, to be sure, for the reason that on it the Tungusic tribes are not thrown together indiscriminately, but are kept apart by different colors. One need only combine them, however, and contrast them with the tribally different Gilyak and Ainu, in order to have a clear picture of how great their spatial preponderance is over the latter, and, on the other hand, how these latter are limited to only the extreme edge of the continent and the adjacent islands. And so, from the spatial relations of the distribution of peoples in the Amur region, we must already face the idea that the Gilyak and the Ainu were pushed to the edge of the continent by Tungusic peoples -- an idea that will find further proof in the historical and ethnological observations of the following sections.

/92/

## Section 2

Changes and shifts in the areas of distribution of the Amur peoples in historical times, according to Russian, Chinese, and Japanese reports, along with an examination and interpretation of the tribal names current in the Amur region or concerning it

SS.
101
121

If it is not easy, and often hardly possible, to define with any accuracy the present areas of distribution of seminomadic hunting and fishing peoples in a vast area as yet little explored, how many more difficulties appear when it is a matter of questions such as what changes in the areas of distribution of these peoples have taken place in the course of time? When and from where did this or that one of them move into its present location? And what other people did it drive out of it? Also, I must note from the start that quite definite and adequate answers to these

G
S.S.
175
114

/95 cont./

1. (cont.)
Schingal (Sungari), and others, and with the region Giletskaja at its mouth, and another time farther east under the name of Helung (the well-known designation for the Amur), with the tributaries Songora, Quentung, and others, flowing through the region of Niuchi or Nikanskaja (of the Manchu and Chinese) and inhabited by the Jupi people at its mouth. I found two copies of the above-mentioned Allard map in our academic library.

G
175
[113]

/96/ his well-known work which appeared soon afterward in 1692, Noord en Oost Tartarye. In this bulky work abounding with data thrown confusedly together, the Gilyak are named in many places and, to be sure, under various modifications of one and the same name, for example, as "Chilakken, Chilanen, Gilaki, Giliaki, Gilaci, Gilaitski, and Gilanki," or "Giliakische and Gilaitse Volken" /Volken, "peoples"/, and their region as "Gilaitskie, Giletskaia, Gilenskije, and Gilanska gewest or landtschap" /gewest, landtschap, "district, region"/(1). In this connection several, often

G
175
114
101

1. Edition of 1692, Part 2, pp. 9, 29, 30, 32, 33, 36, 104, 520, 528, 543; edition of 1705, pp. 11, 67, 68, 77, 86, 87, 88, 96, 106, 112, 267, 838, 847, 884.

distorted, to be sure, but nevertheless characteristic features of their way of life are mentioned, and we shall come back to them on occasion later. The statements in Witsen about the habitation sites of the Gilyak differ even more than the name, for at one time he states only in very general fashion that they have their sites on the right bank of the Amur and southward (2), and

G
175
361
114
131

2. Edition of 1692, Part 2, p. 29; edition of 1705, p. 67.

/96 cont./
175 mouth ("Zemle Giletskaja," land of the Gilyak) (8), then high
131
361

8. On Allard's map the "Holaki" are also shown here.

up in the north, along the Anadyr, and, finally, far to the west, along the sources of a northern tributary of the Amur, which on the map bears the name of Urka and presumably is the Urkan.

175 Like almost all the Siberian names for places and peoples
114 on Witsen's map or in his work, the above designations for the
[101] Gilyak and their region also reveal by their endings their un-
[103] doubtedly Russian origin. Witsen himself repeatedly states, both in the individual cases concerned and in the introduction to his work, that he has often drawn on Russian sources (9). He used

175
114
113

9. According to Müller (Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. I, p. 202), in collecting the reports on Siberia he also found especially helpful Andr. Winiu's "Dumnoi djak," which, however, he does not mention. Recently Spasskij ("Svied. Russk. o riekie Amurie v" XVII stolietii /Information from the Russians concerning the Amur River in the Seventeenth Century/," in Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part VII, 1853, Sec. II, pp. 17 ff.) published a "Story from the Amur River," which he found in a collection of seventeenth-century manuscripts and which evidently was written before the Nerchinsk treaty (1689) was concluded. It bears the inscription, "Skazanie o velikoi riekie Amurie, kotoraia razgranila Russkoe selenie s" Kitaitsy" (Story from the great Amur River, which forms the boundary between the Russian settlements and the Chinese). One recognizes it as one of the

/98 cont./

it was drawn by him on the basis of his own map and changed only with respect to the information -- and not always for the better -- that Ysbrants Ides obtained on his travels and gave to him. On this map the Gilyak are shown only once, and, to be sure, as on Remesof's map, only on the seacoast between the Amur and the Tugur. On the other hand, we see on the much later map by Strahlenberg (2) that the whole region along the

2. "Nova Descriptio Geographica Tartariae Magnae tam orientalis quam occidentalis in particularibus et generalibus Territoriis una cum Delineatione totius Imperii Russici imprimis Siberiae accurate ostensa." With a dedication to Friedrich I, King of Sweden; without date.

northern tributaries of the Amur River, from the Dseja /Zeya/ to the sea, is designated as "terra Giliakorum, whereas in his well-known work on the northern and eastern part of Europe and Asia, it is said that the "Kilani," who are called "Kilett" by the Yakut and "Kilaki" by the Russians, live around the mouth of the Amur River (3). So incredible did the information that he gave

3. Ph. Joh. v. Strahlenberg, Das Nord- und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia /The Northern and Eastern Part of Europe and Asia/, Stockholm, 1730, p. 386. Müller (Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. VI, p. 69) says that the map appeared together with this work in the year 1731.

on them sound -- though, as we shall see later, it was not entirely lacking in truth -- and in any case so fantastic was his derivation of them from the Avar, who are said to have been moved in the thirteenth century from the Caspian and Black Seas to China by the Shah of Persia, Mangu -- he saw confirmation

/98 cont./

105 114 101 for his view in the still extant, like-sounding name Kilan (Gilan) for a Persian province on the Caspian Sea -- that Gmelin cast Strahlenberg's whole account into doubt. At most, he thought, the "Kilani" could be a family of the Tungus, since there were so many in Siberia who gave themselves special names, but not a separate, different people who, as Strahlenberg maintained, distinguished themselves by their skill in so important an art as the forging of weapons -- how could there be such a people, he says, without the whole of Siberia knowing about it (4). Never-

[113]

, 4. J. G. Gmelin, Reise durch Sibirien, von dem Jahr 1733 bis 1743, Göttingen, 1751-1752, Vol. II, Preface.

theless it was Gmelin's travel companion who, without entering the Amur region, made the greatest contribution to our historical knowledge of its peoples, and among them the Gilyak.

Müller was the first to stress the importance of the rich mine of information concerning the Amur region which had accumulated in the Siberian archives and only fragments of which had been seen by Witsen. Later many more gleanings were obtained in this field. Through this there was brought to light the oldest information that we have up to now concerning the Amur peoples being discussed h[illegible]rding to it, the Russians /99/ obtained their first inform[illegible]n about the Gilyak even before they entered the Amur region. In the years 1639 and 1640, when the leader of the Yenisei Cossacks, Maxim Perfiljef, advanced up the Witim /Vitim/ and its left tributary, the Zypir (Zipa /Tsipa/), almost to Lake Baunt, the Tungus there told him of the Daur people, who were supposed to live along the upper Witim and along the Schilka and to trade with the Chinese, as well as a people living where the latter river empties into the sea, that is, at the mouth of the Amur, the "Kilorzy," who were distinguished from all the other peoples by their language and likewise had trading relations with the

/99 cont./
Chinese who came by sea (1). We therefore obtain here informa-

1. J. E. Fischer, Sibir. Gesch., Part I, St. Petersburg, 1768, p. 527-530. Here, as at one other place in his work (p. 477), Fischer calls the author of this information Perfirjef and designates him as a Yenisei (Cossack) hetman. In Pojarkof's /Poyarkov/ original report on his expedition along the Amur (Dopoln. k" akt. istor. /Supplements to the Historical Documents/, Vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1848, pp. 51, 52), however, he is sometimes called Perfiljef and sometimes Perfirjef and is mentioned as a military man from the Yenisei Ostrog (Eniseiskago ostroga sluzhilyi cheloviek").

tion about two of the most remote peoples on the Amur River at the time, for there seems to be no doubt but that the Gilyak are to be understood under "Kilorzy," as was also noted by Fischer in giving this information. It is just one of the many versions of this name, as we have already seen above: they all correspond in the primary sound, Kil or Gil, and differ only in the endings. This oldest version, however, leads directly to an explanation of how and where the name "Gilyak" arose for these people.

Among themselves the Gilyak do not designate themselves with this name at all, as many assert; they do it only when dealing with the Russians, because they know that they are so named by them. Among themselves they call themselves merely "Nib(a)ch" (2), that is, "human being," in that

2. The parentheses around the vowel are meant to indicate that it is barely heard in the pronunciation.

/99 cont./

● 101 for them, like so many peoples on a similar, lower level of culture, the concept of human being coincides with the one of an individual of their tribe and their language and the more general, abstract concept is still lacking. According to this information, the Gilyak were first named to the Russians by the Witim-Tungus. If one leaves off the Russian ending of the name as it was rendered by the Cossacks, it may sound like the Tungus Kilor or Kiler. The Tungus got it from the Daur along the Witim and Schilka, with whom they are in contact, and they in turn from the Chinese, who trade with them, as well as with the peoples of the lower Amur region, by traveling to the latter, though not by sea, as the Tungus reported or as the Russians may have understood, but nevertheless by boat down the Amur. The designation Kilor or Kiler must thus be of Chinese origin, with a Tungusic foundation and perhaps also with some Tungusic modification. Actually there is a people of that or a similar name among those mentioned by the Manchu-Chinese geographers or Manchu-Chinese sources from the lower Amur region. For example, the Chinese imperial /100/ geography of the Tsing dynasty (1) mentions the following peoples, besides the Manchu

(113)

1. Tai Tsing hoei tien, Peking, 1818, Vol. XI, 2; according to Ritter, Asien, Vol. III, p. 444. Pauthier (Chine moderne ou descript. histor., geogr. et litter. de ce vaste empire, Paris, 1853, Part I, p. 168. -- L'Univers) mentions from the Chinese work named the same peoples in the same sequence, but in a somewhat different version inhis French transcription; they run: Tchi-tché, Feĭ-ya-khé, Li-eurh-kou-yé, Golun-tchun, and Go-khe-la.

and Chinese, for the Ssan-ssin district, which includes the lower Amur region and the coast: Kilerchadshi, Wiyaka (Fiaka),

/100 cont./

101 Lerkoje, Oruntschun, and Kiyakla. In Timkovski's Journey to Peking, edited by Klaproth (2), the Kileng and the Fiaka are

[113]

2. G. Timkovski, Voyage à Peking à travers la Mongolie, en 1820 et 1821. Trad. du Russe par N****, revu par J. B. Eyriès; publ. avec des correct. et des notes par J. Klaproth. Paris, 1827. Atlas, Tab. VII, Explic. p. 25.

mentioned from the lower Amur and the seacoast. The archimandrite Palladij (3) enumerates from the province of

[113]

3. "Dorozhn. zamietki na puti ot" Pekina do Blagovieshchenska chez" Man'chzhuriiu, v" 1870 g. /Travel Notes on the way from Peking to Blagoveshchensk by way of Manchuria in 1870/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. geogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 399).

Girin the following peoples who paid their tribute in sable pelts to the Peking Court before the Russians occupied the lower Amur region: the Chādshā or Chādsin, the Fiaka, the Kiler, the Kuă, the Orontscho, and the Kjakala. These are not by far all the enumerations of the Chinese names for the peoples of the lower Amur region, but only those in which the names Kiler or Kileng occur; others will be mentioned later on. One should not expect, however, that the peoples distinguished by the Chinese would always coincide exactly with those now known to us in this region. With their very limited knowledge of the lower Amur region, it could and must have happened, on the contrary, that occasionally the Chinese did not distinguish the various peoples from one another, especially those that were more remote, or included them under a collective name, and in other

/100 cont./

101 cases, on the other hand, where nearer and more familiar regions were involved, they gave different names to branches or tribes of one and the same people differing only slightly dialectally. It 101 is therefore not surprising that one finds contradictory statements 114 in the interpretations made up to now about these Manchu-Chinese names, for which the above point of view was not followed and which, in addition, came from men who lacked any personal acquaintance with the lower-Amur peoples. Klaproth, for example, thought at the beginning that Fiaka and Chedshen were the Manchu terms for the Gilyak (4); later (5), however,

[113]

4. Asia polyglotta, Paris, 1823, pp. 290, 301. In this connection he regards the Gilyak as the Kuriles of the continent, concerning which more later.

5. Atlas accompanying Timkovski's Journey, loc. cit.

he thought that he recognized in the Kileng, as they supposedly called themselves, the Gilyak of the Russians. Palladij, however, even recently regarded the Fiaka as Gilyak, and the Kiler, on the other hand, as Amgunj-Tungus, that is, Negda. If one considers the alleged habitation sites of these peoples, as well as the few reports concerning their respective character traits, way of life, clothing, etc., one must, to be sure, grant more right to the latter interpretation, but cannot entirely agree with it either. The description of the Fiaka in the atlas accompany- [291] ing Timkovski's Journey, as a crude, but brave people who in winter are clothed in pelts of dog fur, incontestably fits the Gilyak better than that of the Kileng, whose clothing of stag hide (or /101/ perhaps also roe or reindeer skins) in itself indicates a Tungusic people devoted to a higher level of hunting (1).

1. The drawings of the Kileng and Fiaka (Atlas, Plate VII), as crude and dissimilar

/101 cont./

101
114

1. (cont.)
as they are generally as well as in details, rather favor such an interpretation.

[131]
[361]

The alleged habitation sites of the peoples in question likewise appear to argue in favor of this interpretation, as the Kileng are said to live chiefly along the Amgunj (2), the Fiaka along the

[113]

2. Khenkhoûn in Klaproth (loc. cit.), Henkon on the maps by d'Anville (Nouv. Atlas de la Chine, de la Tartarie Chinoise et du Thibet, La Haye, 1737, Nos. 1, 18).

seacoast near the mouth of the Amur. There seems to be almost no further doubt but that the Fiaka are the Gilyak when Iakinf (3),

[113]

3. Statist. Opis. Kitaisk. Imper. /Statistical Description of the Chinese Empire/, St. Petersburg 1842, Part II, p. 30, footnote.

on the basis of Manchu-Chinese sources and without any comment of his own, states that there are three peoples on Sakhalin, Fjakă (Fyake), Eluntschun, and Kuă, obviously Gilyak, Orok, and Ainu. Finally, among the statements by the old Jesuit missionaries, too, there are some that cannot be interpreted in any way other than in the above sense; Gerbillon's statement (4),

[113]

4. J. B. du Halde, Descript. de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise, Paris, 1735, Vol. IV, p. 37.

for instance, that the lowermost part of the Amur River down to the sea was inhabited by the Fiatta or Fiattu (5) people, who

• 101 114 /101 cont./

5. Klaproth (Atlas, loc. cit.) expressly states that "Fiatta" is an error and should be "Fiaka."

speak an entirely different language, live solely on fish, and whom, on the basis of the descriptions that he obtained, he would compare with the Iroquois. Müller (6) replied to this that the

[113]

6. "Von dem Amur-Flusse /From the Amur River/," in Büsching's Magaz. für die neue Historie und Geogr., Part 2, 2nd ed., Hamburg, 1769, p. 506.

Gilyak were designated with the name Fitta by the Manchu. On the other hand, the Jesuit missionaries (7) who upon the orders of

7. Regis, Jartoux and Fridelli, 1709.

Emperor Kang-hi traveled through Manchuria proper and part of the lower Amur region in order to draw a map of them reported on the Fiatta in a quite different sense. According to them it is nothing but the Manchu designation for the language of the Ketscheng or Ketsching, a people who lives along the Amur River from Tondon to its mouth and along the coast to the east of the Ussuri and the Amur, as well as, presumably, that people who occupies the seacoast north of the Amur mouth up to 55 degrees of latitude, the extreme northeastern boundary of the Chinese Empire (8). Thus we see here that the designation Fiatta, or,

8. Du Halde, Descript., etc., Vol. IV, pp. 7, 12. Ritter (Asien, Vol. III, pp. 446, 447) has combined the contradicting statements of the Jesuit missionaries and Klaproth's into one, which leads to the greatest confusion.

/101 cont./

101 114 as Klaproth insists, Fiaka, is used, due to insufficient knowledge, as a collective term for a number of different peoples of the Amur region or their language, and among them the Gilyak. And the same must be concluded from the statements of the Chinese U-tschen, who, as was stated above, spent 17 years -- from his birth on -- in Ninguta, to which his father had been exiled, and later, in 1722, having returned to China, he wrote a description of his birthplace. Downstream from the Cheidsin or Chădshen on the Amur River, he has the region of the Fei-ja-cha come next, the description of which, however, only in part fits the Gilyak, and to a greater extent -- for example, the nose rings, /102/ the birchbark boats, fishing in the sea, etc. -- the Goldi, Olcha, and Orochi (1). Finally, Iakinf expresses

[113] 1. In Wassiljef's /Vasil'ev/ translation: "Zapiski o Ningutie /Notes on Ninguta/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XII, 1857, pp. 90-93). It is also said there [197] that the Fiaka, Cheidsin, and Churcha or Chulcha address one another with the word "andă." This, however, is a Tungusic word that also occurs among the Goldi, Olcha, etc. and means "friend"; in Gilyak it is "amală."

himself quite definitely in this sense in declaring that all the different tribes that live downstream from the Chădshe on both banks of the Amur River and also occupy the northern part of Sakhalin were included under the common name Fjakă (Fyake) (2).

[113] 2. Iakinf", Statist. Opis. Kitaisk. Imperii, Part II, p. 12.

All this permits one to draw the conclusion that the Fiaka of the Manchu-Chinese geographers or reporters are not always the Gilyak by any means; although better informed individuals actually might have referred to the Gilyak by this designation,

G 101 114 /102 cont./ there were others who mixed them up with the neighboring Tungusic tribes, in that wherever their ethnographic knowledge of the lower Amur region stopped, which occurred sometimes sooner, sometimes later, they had the area of the Fiaka, this people of their ultima Thule, begin.

Gi 101 114 The situation was similar for the Ketscheng and Kileng. I shall later try to show that under the former for the most part the Goldi, at least a part of them and the Olcha were included. It is likewise to be seen from the above statements, however, that this term was occasionally extended, for reasons similar to those in the case of the Fiaka, to other peoples living farther down the Amur and along the seacoast, down to the Gilyak. Finally, concerning the Kileng or Kiler, a proof of the collective notion that was given to this term, and still is, on the part of the Chinese lies in the association of it with the Ketscheng or Chädshe, as is found in the imperial geography of the Tai-Tsing. The Kiler-chadshi mentioned there include the peoples of the lower Amur region who extend from the Chadshi (Goldi) inclusive down to the Fiaka of the seacoast. The use of the designation Kileng, Kile, or Kil on the part of the Chinese, however, can be shown specifically for almost every one of these peoples. Thus, the Kileng of the Amgunj have already been mentioned above, and, on the basis of their place of residence and description, the Negda are meant by this. When in the report concerned it is said that they also call themselves "Kileng" (3),

3. Klaproth, in the atlas accompanying Timkovski's Journey, p. 25.

this is correct only insofar as they designate themselves; when dealing with the Chinese, in the way they are named by them, just as the Gilyak do with regard to their designation when confronted by the Russians. The name which they have more or less accepted when dealing with those foreigners who to them are the most important and the most authoritative, they will, of course, readily use in dealing with all the others. When I

/102 cont./

inquired among the Goldi about the name of the Samagir or of the people on the Gorin and those on the Kur, they named the one as well as the /103/ other for me repeatedly as the "Kile," evidently because they bore this collective name among the Chinese and then designated themselves with it when dealing with them. The Gilyak also gave me the name "Kil" for the Samagir. Since the Goldi and the Gilyak languages are completely different, the obvious conclusion is that this can only be a foreign name. Finally, I have sometimes heard Chinese merchants traveling along the Amur designate even the northern and more distant Goldi, as a rule the Olcha, and, indeed, even the Gilyak with this or a similar name. One such merchant, for instance, whom I met in Amtscho on the Amur, eagerly asked me whether the "Kilam" or "Kilang" living farther downstream had many sables, and, in order to make himself better understood, he also named this animal in the Kilam language the word sounded like "lombr," and the Gilyak "lumr" can be clearly recognized. The Gilyak were quite similarly called "Ki-li-mi" by the Chinese companions of the missionary Venault when he went down the Amur in order to investigate the death of de la Brunière, who had been killed by them (1).

1. Venault, "Excurs. dans les parties intér. de la Mandchourie /Journey into the Interior Parts of Manchuria/" (Nouv. Ann. des Voyages, 5th series, Vol. XXX,1852 /Vol. II/, pp. 216-223.

From all that has been said it is clear that the Chinese include under the collective designation Kil, Kile, Kilang, Kilam, etc. both the peoples of the left, northern and western tributaries of the lower Amur River, of the Kur, Gorin, and Amgunj, and the dwellers along the lower course of the main river, itself, and, to be sure, especially the Gilyak, whom they know least, but also the Olcha, and sometimes even part of the Goldi; or, in other words, just as in the case of the Fiaka and Chādshen,

/103 cont./

G G1 101 114 they also have the Kile and Kileng begin in the lower Amur region all the sooner or all the farther upstream the less their knowledge of the region and its population. The most distant of these peoples, the Negda and even more the Gilyak, were therefore most frequently and most generally included under this collective name.

As we saw above, the first information about the Kiler people on the mouth of the Amur came from the Chinese via the Daur and the Witim /Vitim/ Tungus to the Russians, among whom this name, provided with a Russian ending, became "Kilorzy." Only a little later, when they themselves took their expeditions down the Amur, they must have, in the lower course of it, repeatedly heard of the Kile or Kileng living downstream, until they reached the last of these peoples and discovered in them a people actually completely different from the Tungusic tribes whom they already knew. For them they now retained the traditional name, only, of course, provided with a Russian ending, as Kiljaki, Kiljaizy, Kiljany, etc., out of which developed, according to the spirit of the language, Giljaki, Giljaizy, Giljany, etc. Thus we come to all the versions of this name which Witsen gave from Russian sources and which are explained in part by the aforementioned various versions of the Chinese name for the Kile people and in part by the arbitrary selection of the Russian ending.

G 114 10 [105] /104/ It could not have failed to happen, however, that some of the Russian Cossacks who went down the Amur in boats did not become aware of the tribal difference between the adjacent Tungusic peoples and the Gilyak. They, therefore, since they used that designation, like the Chinese, more or less as a collective name, had the Gilyak begin much farther up on the Amur than their true boundary lies. During the later, more precise examination of the statements concerned, we shall see, for example, that, according to some, the region of the Gilyak begins with the Olcha area; according to others, even sooner, shortly below the Ussuri, and therefore in the midst of the Goldi area. And, significantly enough, this is repeated, like an echo of those times, to this day. It has been stressed above how

G /104 cont./
101 vague and incorrect all the modern Russian reports concerning the
114 southern border of the Gilyak on the Amur are, how generally this border is put deep in the Olcha area, even in the Goldi area and in the latter up to the Ussuri (1). The chief reason for this

1. See above, p. 51 and p. 183, note 1.

lies in the fact that even today the designation "Gilyak" is often used by the Russians as a collective name for all the dwellers
G along the lower Amur River and the adjacent seacoast. For the
Gi common man it is almost always customary to call the Olcha,
101 the Goldi, and, as I myself became convinced, even the Orochi
114 of de Castries /De-Kastri/ and Kaiserhafen simply Gilyak. A traveler, therefore, who based his statements on what was said by Russian settlers or Cossacks -- and many have done it -- could give nothing but false information about the territorial boundaries of the Gilyak and the other peoples named above. But even a traveler like Boschnjak /Boshniak/, who clearly and correctly indicated the boundaries between the Gilyak and the Olcha for him, Mangun on the basis of the radical difference between their respective languages, nevertheless in the same article speaks of "Kidsi-Gilyaken," though there are no Gilyak in the narrow and true sense in Kidsi at all (2). The use of this designation

2. See above, p. 52, note 2.

as a collective name for many peoples of the lower-Amur region often renders the oldest Russian reports useless for an investigation of a possible shift of the habitation sites of the Gilyak and their neighbors, just as is the case, for the same reason, for all the Chinese reports concerning the Kile or Kileng.

G While, according to the above discussion, there appears
101 to be no doubt but that the Russian name Gilyak for the people
114 around the mouth of the Amur arose from the Chinese Kile or Kileng, the question remains as to how the origin of this latter

G
101
174

/104 cont./ designation is to be explained. Unfamiliar with any kind of linguistic research, I shall permit myself in this connection only to express a surmise to which I have been led by several facts. It is readily observed that many names of Tungusic peoples, tribes, or kin groups have a final syllable gir. Disregarding the many examples of this kind among the Tungus of Siberia (3), I

Gi
G
T
101
174

T
[113]

3. Many such names may be found among the Tungus tribes from various regions of Siberia enumerated by Georgi (Bemerk. auf einer Reise im Russ. Reiche im Jahre 1772 /Notes on a Journey in the Russian Empire in the Year 1772/, Vol. I, St. Petersburg, 1775, pp. 244-246).

give /105/ as examples among the Tungus tribes living or roaming in the Amur region the Manegir, Ullagir, Bojagir, Lalegir, Guragir, Samagir, some kin groups of the Negda, such as the Muktegir, Tschutktschagir, Njassekagir, Tschemakogir (1), etc(2).

Gi
G
T
[114]

1. Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1523) erroneously writes the final syllable "Muktegr, Tschuktschager, Njässekagr, Tschemakogr."

2. When this final syllable occurs in the name of a non-Tungusic people, such as "Yukagir," then I suspect that the name is of Tungusic origin.

T
Gi
[131]

It is noteworthy that these are all dwellers along the left, northern and western tributaries of the Amur River. I do not know the meaning of this final syllable gir. The Tungus vocabularies at my disposal (3) give no information concerning it.

T
[113]

3. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, linguistic atlas, Paris, 1823, pp. XLII ff. Castrén's

G
Gi
T
101
174
T
[113]

/105 cont./

3. (cont.)
Grundzüge einer tungus. Sprachlehre nebst kurzem Wörterverzeichniss /Principles of a Tungusic Grammar with a Short Vocabulary/. ed. by A. Schiefner, St. Petersb. 1856.

However that may be, gir becomes kil in the Chinese pronunciation, and I have heard the Chinese pronounce the name "Sama-gir" as "Sama-kil." Likewise the names of the other above-mentioned Tungusic tribes end in kil in Chinese. Consequently it seems to me not unlikely that they made this common ending into a collective name for all these peoples of the northern and lower Amur region, including as well the, in their eyes, not essentially different Gilyak. From Kil and Kileng, however, arose, as was shown above, the Russian designation Kiljaki and Giljaki. And thus there results, if my surmise is correct, the strange fact that the collective name for a number of almost exclusively Tungusic tribes, which arose from the distortion of a Tungusic word by the Chinese, is at present limited to the one people who throughout the entire lower Amur region is not Tungusic in origin.

G
175
131
648

After this digression we now return to an examination of the historical accounts concerning the habitation sites of the Amur peoples, and first of the Gilyak. Very soon after the Russians learned of the existence of the Gilyak, they became acquainted with them themselves. During the years 1644 and 1645, on their first expedition into the Amur region, under Wassilij Pojarkof /Poyarkov/, they traveled throughout the region of the Gilyak on the Amur. Only after a four-days' trip down the Ussuri -- which Pojarkof, by the way, thought was the upper Amur -- did the Djutscheren (Dyuchery) people come an end, who will be discussed later, the Natken (Natki) followed, and after them the Gilyak, who, as the report states, occupied the lowermost part of the Amur River to the sea. Pojarkof went through the areas of the latter two peoples in 14 days for each of them, until he reached the mouth of the Amur, where

G
[114]

G /112 cont./
175
174
648
131

2. (cont.)
Djatschkovskij, who learned of it while traveling through his diocese in the winter of 1829/30 (Zap. Gidr. Dep., Part VI, p. 36).

that it was because the Gilyak had just seen themselves pushed off the Shantars by the Russians that they appeared so hostile toward them when the latter advanced from there into their territory on the mainland. It is no wonder that they took advantage of their greater number and simply killed off the intruders. Now since, as Middendorff has shown, the trips by the Russians to the Shantars took place almost without interruption, the Gilyak lost their former hunting territory altogether. It seems, then, that while in the course of time they lost territory on the islands in the northwest of their area of distribution, they advanced on the mainland somewhat more to the west.

G.
Gi
175
101

Much less can be drawn from the oldest Russian reports from the lower Amur about possible border shifts in the south of the Gilyak territory, along the Amur River. In them only the adjacent neighbors are named, and at most the number of days required to cross their respective territories is given. Moreover, all of the statements run differently, in that, according to Pojarkof, the Natken border the Gilyak upstream, according to Chabarof the Atschanen, and according to Stepanof the Djutscheren. The next question is how are these peoples to be identified with those known to us today from the lower Amur region and how are those apparently contradictory reports to be reconciled?

Gi
175
101
114

As Müller (3) and after him Fischer (4) correctly remarked

3. Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 320.

4. Sibir. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 809.

Gi 175 101 114

/112 cont./ Pojarkof with the designation Natki referred to the same people as Chabarof later did with the name Atschany. Fischer's conjectures in explanation of these different names, however, are altogether wrong (5). The difference is explained very simply

G [101] [114]

5. Fischer thought that perhaps these people, called Atschani in their own language, were named Natki by the Djutscheren, or that the one might be the name of the entire people, the other that of a particular family, or finally, that the Natken and Gilyak were one and the same people. The last seemed to him the most probable because in the later accounts, in Stepanof's report, the Natken were no longer mentioned at all, and the Djutscheren were named as neighbors of the Gilyak. In this case, however, the Atschanen would likewise have to be eliminated, being identified with the Gilyak. Both are entirely inadmissible. Later on we shall find another explanation for Stepanof's statement.

/113/ if by "Natken" and "Atschanen," not one people, but rather, according to our distinction, two peoples, the Goldi and the Olcha -- as often happened later on -- are understood, with Pojarkof borrowing the name of the former for the allegedly one people, and Chabarof the latter.

Gi 175 101 648

I believe that one can conclude that the name Natken actually refers to the Goldi for the following reasons. Mention of a people of this name is made in the oldest account that the Russians received from the Amur (1). Namely, when Tomsk

1. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 295.

Gi 175 101 /114 cont./
a language other than the Tungusic one (1). Now, even though

G. Gi 175 101 [113]

1. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 1536. Though this statement seems to leave no doubt but that "Ngatku" was a Tungusic designation for that Amur people, Middendorff says elsewhere (travel rep. in the Bull. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. IV, p. 235; the same, Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 618) that he had received information on this people from the Gilyak. But in this case, too, these must have been border Gilyak adjacent to Tugur Bay, who obviously gave the traveler the name customary among their neighbors, the Tungus, for those people, for as much and as frequently as I myself inquired among the Gilyak on the Amur, the Liman, and on Sakhalin about the peoples known to them, I never heard the name Ngatku. In any case they have other designations for the Olcha and Goldi, which will be discussed later.

Gi 175 101 the above description by the Tungus of the Natka, their place of habitation, and their way of life agrees with Pojarkof's statements concerning the Natken and Chabarof's concerning the Atschanen, who likewise lived only from fishing and without agriculture and livestock-raising, and even though in this direction it fits the Goldi as well as the Olcha, it is not therefore to be assumed that the Tungus, especially the Negda, were likewise unable to distinguish between these two peoples Gi 101 not too far away from them. Experience has shown that, on the contrary, primitive peoples are inclined to regard even minor branches of one and the same people, individual families,

G. /115 cont./
101 syllable in order to recognize in this designation the name Olcha
114 only slightly changed. And this is the name that this people gives
175 itself. I shall come back to this later. Chabarof also named the fort which he erected for winter quarters Atschanskoi gorod after this people. It cannot be learned from his report where it was located. I believe that one may assume, however, that it was already in Olcha territory since it was the last place he reached along the Amur and since he must have learned the name given for the Olcha people, appearing before us here for the first time, from them themselves. Or else it may have been that Olcha staying in Goldi territory were accidentally involved in the learning of the name, which, however, is less probable. Chabarof must therefore have proceeded quite far below the Ussuri on the Amur. In view of the relatively short duration of his voyage from the mouth of the Sungari (3), how-

3. The duration of this voyage cannot be determined very precisely; from what can be learned from Chabarof's account, however, he seems to have been at the mouth of the Sungari on about September 15 and to have gone downstream from there for 14 days, for he reached the place where he set up his winter quarters on September 29.

ever, that would have been possible only if he followed the main stream and not the right bank with its many bays. And this appears to have been the case in fact, for otherwise he would surely not have overlooked the mouth of the Ussuri.

G. Although we learn about the present neighbors of the /116/
G1 Gilyak on the Amur through Pojarkof and Chabarof, nothing
101 can be learned from their reports about where the boundaries
114 between these peoples were at that time because the statements
175 of the distances in terms of days of travel, without any designation or mention of recognizable localities, are too vague and

G. G1 10 114 175

/116 cont./ do not provide any firm foothold. At first glance, it seems that somewhat more can be drawn from Stepanof's report since he built a fort, Kossogorskoi Ostrog, among the Gilyak in order to spend the winter there. As Romanof has shown, however, this place was most probably located on the island of Ssutschu located in the Amur near Kidsi. He found there the remains of a low earthen embankment with pits in it, traces of former earth dwellings -- the whole located on the inclined plane of a mountain slope so that the name Kossogorskoi Ostrog seems fully justified (1). From this I conclude that Stepanof did not spend the

G. G1 [103]

G. G1 [113]

1. D. Romanov", "Ocherk" miestnosti mezhdu zal. de Kastri i r. Amurom" /Essay on the Locality between De-Kastri Bay and the Amur River/" (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part XXIX, 1859, Sec. on Res. and Mat., p. 126, note 4). Müller (Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. II, p. 355) explained the name Kossogorskoi Ostrog from the location of the place "on the slope of a mountain." In Onufrij Stepanof's original account, this fort is not called Kossogorskoi, but Kossogirskoi Ostrog (Dopoln. k" akt. istor., Vol. IV, 1851, p. 82).

winter among the Gilyak at all, but among the Olcha, whom he, like Romanof and others later (2), did not distinguish from

2. See above, p. 51, 183, 213.

the Gilyak. This also explains his statements concerning the Djutscheren bordering the Gilyak: he includes under this name all the peoples on the lower Amur River -- the Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak -- as is still repeatedly done in recent times. This sufficiently explains the contradiction between the statements by Stepanof and his predecessors, Pojarkof and Chabarof, concerning the peoples of the lower Amur, and at the same time reveals the former, as a consequence of the collective extension of the name Gilyak to entirely different peoples, as the most

/116 cont./

vague and the least useful for our purposes (3).

3. As was mentioned above (p. 234, note 5), Fischer, on the contrary, was inclined to regard Stepanof's account as the most authoritative. For this reason, on his map of old Siberia (Sibir. Gesch., Vol. II, Pl. II) he showed the Natken, who, perhaps in his opinion, could only be identical with the Gilyak, below the Atschanen, whereas, according to our interpretation of these names above, it should have been the other way around.

The later, but still from the seventeenth-century, Russian accounts concerning the Amur region, and especially concerning the habitation sites of the Gilyak in it, such as we find in the "Tale from the Amur" published by Spasskij and in Witsen, have already been discussed (4). The pertinent statements are very

4. See above, pp. 196 ff.

general and in part even erroneous, because they are only taken from collected stories and not original reports, like those mentioned above.

The next detailed reports concerning the habitation sites of the Gilyak, especially along the Amur River, do not come to us until more than a century later, and, to be sure, from quite different parties, from the Japanese. We owe them to the Japanese traveler, Mamia Rinsô /Rinzô Mamiya/, who, upon orders from his government, explored the west coast of Sakhalin in 1808 and 1809 and in 1810 also visted the lower Amur region, or Santan, as the Japanese called it. From /117/ Cape Rakka (Lak) (1) on Sakhalin he went over to the mainland, followed its

1. Siebold, to whom we are indebted for publishing the very valuable travels of Mamia Rinso ("Tô-tats ki ko," i.e., "Voyage to Eastern Tatary," in Nippon,

F.J.
G
114
175
103
[113]

/117 cont./

1. (cont.)
VII, pp. 167-196), thinks it highly probable that Cape Rakka referred to Cape Tekka, and the first name arose only through confusion of the very similar Japanese characters for Te and Ra (op. cit., p. 199, note 6). From my own knowledge of these localities, however, I must deny this. Cape Rakka is undoubtedly the low promontory of Lak, inasmuch as the Japanese, lacking the *l* sound in their language, as is well known, substitute an r for it; Cape Tekka, however, is the somewhat more southerly Cape Tyk.

F.J.
175
G
175
361

coast southward to Cape Musibo (in Taba Bay), pulled his boat across the much-traversed towpath to the small Taba River, traveled downstream by boat into Lake Kidsi, and thus reached the large village of Kidsi located on the Amur. From there he went up the Amur to what was then the trading station of Deren, stayed there a few days, and then returned to Sakhalin by following the Amur downstream to its mouth and crossing the Liman three times. On this voyage he came into close contact with the Gilyak and their southern neighbors on the Amur River, the Olcha. Both were already known to him and to the Japanese generally: the former both as permanent inhabitants of north Sakhalin and as frequent visiting traders in Ssiranussi; the latter only as occasional traders coming over from the mainland. Mamia Rinsô even spent the entire winter of 1809/10 on Cape Noteito (2) among the Sakhalin Gilyak. "Smerenkur" is the

G
E.J.
175
177
G
[13]
Gi
[439]
E.J.
G
[101]

2. Between Cape Lak and Cape Tyk.
There was no village there in my time.

G
[361]

name that they bear in his travel account, as well as generally among the Japanese. A much-traveled Olcha from Tyr, who

ooo

2: Schrenck--244 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Islands
Ainu AB6

GJ.
FA
101

/117 cont./ A much-traveled Olcha from Tyr, who himself had repeatedly been with the Japanese on Sakhalin, named them for me as "Ssúmerenkur," expressly noting that this was the name that the Ainu, and following them, the Japanese, gave to the Gilyak. Indeed, its origin from the Ainu language is immediately evident from the final syllable, for "kur, kuru, guru" means "man" in it (3). Perhaps, however,

A
G
[197]

A
G
[113]

3. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, Paris, 1823, pp. 302, 309; Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 198, note 5.

the etymology of the rest of this name can also be explained, for "ssúmari" among the Ainu of Sakhalin means "fox" (4), and

A
G
[113]

4. According to Fr. Schmidt; see my "Bemerk. über die Säugethierfauna Süd-Sachalin's und der südl. Kurilen /Notes on the Mammalian Fauna of Southern Sakhalin and the Southern Kuriles/" (Bullet. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Petersb., Vol. IV, p. 420; Mél. biol., Vol. IV, p. 105). According to Klaproth (Asia polygl., p. 306; San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou Aperçu génér. des trois royaumes /General Survey of the Three Kingdoms/, transl. from the Japanese-Chinese original, Paris, 1832, p. 245; see also Langsdorff, Bemerk. auf. einer Reise um die Welt /Notes on a Voyage around the World/ Frankf. on the Main, 1812, Vol. I, p. 301) -- "schumari" and "schiumari."

A
G
101
439

so "Ssumarinkur" would mean something like "fox people." I cannot say with certainty what made the Ainu give this name to the Gilyak: perhaps because, as middlemen in the trade between the Ainu and the Manchu-Chinese, they were the principal

A G 101 439 /117 cont./ buyers of the furs captured by them and among them the fox skins common on Sakhalin; or, what seems more probable to me, the name originated because the Gilyak in former times, with greater wealth than the Ainu, for the most part were themselves clothed in fox skins (5).

G [175] 113 [291]

5. In the seventeenth-century tale from the great Amur River (Viestn. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Part VII, 1853, Sec. II, p. 20) it is said that the Gilyak on the large island facing the mouth of the Amur wore sable and fox fur clothing.

A F.J. Gi 101 The situation is different with regard to the customary Japanese name for /118/ the Amur dwellers from Tungusic tribes who come from the mainland to Sakhalin for trade. I must note at once that they are not only Olcha, but in like measure Goldi, who, however, are not distinguished by the Ainu and Japanese, but rather are covered by the collective name "Santan" or "S'janta." And then the region inhabited by them, the Amur region, is designated by the same name, after the people (1). Mamia Rinsô's predecessor, the Japanese

A F.J. Gi [103]

Gi 101 175 439 F.J. 101

1. During his visit to the island of Jesso /Yesso/ (1792), Adam Laxmann heard the Japanese speak of the "Sandan-aino" (Sandan people), who came to Sakhalin to trade; he, however, took them for Koreans (cf. Polonskii, "Kurily." -- Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po Otd. Etnogr., Vol. IV, 1871, pp. 493, 541). Krusenstern was quite erroneously told by the Japanese on Jesso and on Sakhalin that this latter island, or, as he heard in Aniwa, even only its northern part, was called "Sandan" by the Ainu

F.J. A 114 103 113

A
FJ
Gi
101
[113]

/118 cont./

3. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, pp. 178, 198, note 3: also Nippon, I, p. 131).

Tyre also gave the name as "S'janta," with which, according to him, the Ainu and after them the Japanese designate his people. And this leads us to what I consider the true origin of this name. It comes from the Gilyak. "Jant" or "Janta" is the Gilyak name for the Goldi. Now, since, on the one hand, the Gilyak are the immediate neighbors of the Ainu on Sakhalin and, on the other hand, the major and certainly the oldest middlemen in their trade with the Amur peoples up to the Manchu, it is scarcely conceivable but that the Ainu first became acquainted with the most numerous and most widespread of these peoples, the Goldi, through the Gilyak. And thus it is understandable that they also accepted the Gilyak name for them, only changed slightly in accordance with their language, and extended this name to the Olcha, who in their eyes were members of the same people (4).

A
Gi
101
174
G
A
[439]

A
G
Gi
[113]
[175]

4. When, therefore, in a Russian document dated 1789, which Middendorff found among the archival papers in Udskoi Ostrog (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 102, note) it is said that the Tungusic name for Sakhalin is "Jankur," one can easily recognize in it, by both the initial and the final syllables, the above-mentioned Ainu designation, through the mediation of the Gilyak, for the Tungusic Amur peoples visiting their island.

FJ
101
175
A
[101]
F.J.
[114]

/119/ Though the name Santan or S'janta is plainly used by the Ainu and Japanese on Sakhalin for the Olcha as well as for the Goldi, this is not at all the case in the travel report by Mamio Rinsô. Along the Amur he only stayed in the areas of the

FJ
10
175
[114]
G1
[101]

/119 cont./ Gilyak and the Olcha. He did not go beyond the latter to the south. He also met isolated Goldi there and learned a special name for them, to which we shall return later. His S'janta, therefore, are exclusively Olcha. And, going downstream by boat, he indicates with great precision where the S'janta end and their northern neighbors, the Smerenkur, begin. In most of the villages which he mentions in his travel account or the map (1), one can still recognize the villages of today. In

G1
101
175
36
103

1. Apart from the map reproduced by Siebold (Nippon, VII, Pl. XXV), labeled with Mamia Rinsô's name, the Tok'nai map of the part representing the Amur region and the west coast of Sakhalin opposite it, which is given at the same place, likewise comes from Rinsô, as Siebold (Nippon, I, p. 170, note 162) remarks. All the details concerning the Amur region are to be found on this latter map.

Aorei (Aure) he still found himself among the S'janta; at Horomo or Horo, whose distance from the first he estimates at four ri (about 15 versts, the territory of the Smerenkur begins, and from there on, he says, men, dwellings, tools, and the way of life are the same as on Krafto (Sakhalin) (2). Horo is undoubtedly

G
[103]
[361]

2. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 177).

Chjare, the first Gilyak village going downstream. As further proof of this there is also the fact that directly above Horo on Rinsô's map is shown the village of Furu, which one easily recognizes as today's next to last Olcha village of Pulu. Thus, in Rinsô's time (1810) the boundary between the Gilyak and the Olcha was exactly where I found it 45 years later (3).

G
G1
101

3. See above, pp. 20, 27, 51, and elsewhere.

/128 cont./

000

3. Steller, op. cit., p. 248, note a.

GA 101 175

Among their neighbors on Sakhalin, the Gilyak, the Ainu have a quite similar sounding name, "Kughi" (4), which is also in

AG [104]

4. I write gh when the g is strongly guttural, between g and ch.

A [192]

general use among the Gilyak of the mainland (5). Undoubtedly

G [113]

5. Middendorff heard the Gilyak in Tugur Bay call the Kuriles "Kuwi" (see his travel report in the Bull. de la cl. phys.-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. Vol. IV, pp. 233, 235; also Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, pp. 615, 618).

all these names have the same origin in that they all, as Klaproth states for the name Kuriles, arose from the word "kur" or "kuru," which means "human being" in the Ainu language (6).

A [113]

6. Klaproth, Asia polyglotta, p. 300. In San kokf tsou ran to sets (pp. 183, 184) "kur" is said to mean "tribe /Stamm/, tribus."

AFJ 175 103 A 101

Moreover, the Kurile Islands, as the Japanese Araï Tsikugo noted in 1720 among other valuable reports concerning them, were embraced under the collective name "Kuru-misi" (that is, Land of Man) by the Ainu (7). Here, then, is the simple explanation of that name for the people and the land.

AFJ 103 175 114 FJ 113

7. Araï Tsikugo, "Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de Jesso," op. cit., pp. 192, 207, 211. Cf. also Klaproth's additions to San kokf tsou ran to sets, pp. 191, 193, 194, -- following the same Japanese source.

A
FJ.
103
114
195

/128 cont./

7. (cont.)
following the same Japanese source. In "Jeso-ki" (p. 211), the Japanese author reports that, according to the inhabitants of Oku-Jesso (Sakhalin Ainu), in the sea to the east there were two islands with the name "Gurumise" and ties this up with the curious conjecture that this information may refer to Greenland, which he had heard of through the Dutch. The editors of the Annales for their part make the remark that "Gurumise" probably were the "Goliai" islands to the north of Sakhalin. Obviously by Goliai they mean the island of Giliat, which was mentioned by Witsen on the basis of old Russian reports (see above, p. 250). Both, however, overlooked the obvious, that Guru-misi itself was "Kuru-misi" and therefore the Kurile Islands. The Japanese call the 37 islands between Jesso and "Kamsikattka or Kamsaska" by the name of "Tsi sima," that is, "the thousand islands" (Rinsifée, San kokf, etc., pp. 193, 195).

000 explanation of that name for the people and the land.

A
195
101
G
●[101]

/129/ The name customary among the Gilyak for the Ainu also reached the Manchu and Chinese. Iakinf, for instance, on the basis of a Chinese topography, calls the three peoples living on Sakhalin "Fjakă, Eluntschun, and Kuă," the latter of which are undoubtedly the Ainu (1). Similarly, the

A
175
114
101

1. Iakinf", Statistich. Opis. Kitaisk. Imp. /Statistical Description of the Chinese Empire/, Pt. II, p. 30, note. He is wrong, however, when he gives the Kuă as the inhabitants of the central part of the island

A 175 114 101 /129 cont./

1. (cont.)
and the Eluntschun (Orok) as those of the southern part, whereas it should be the other way around.

A 101 175 [648] Similarly, The archimandrite Palladij mentions the "Kuã" (Ainu) among the peoples of Girin Province, from whom formerly, according to Chinese reports, a large tribute in sable furs was collected for the court of Peking (2). We now understand when in the Chinese

A [113]

2. Arkh. Palladii, "Dorozhn. zam. na puti ot" Pekina do Blagovieshch., chrez" Manch'zhuriiu, v" 1870 g. /Travel Notes on the way from Peking to Blagoveshchensk by way of Manchuria in 1870/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr., Vol. IV, 1871, p. 399).

imperial geography (3) the "Lerkoje" (4), or, as Pauthier (5)

A [113]

3. Tai Tsing hoei tien, Vol. XI; see Ritter, Erdkunde von Asien /Geography of Asia/, Vol. III, p. 444.

4. Ritter adds in parenthesis: "Koje of the maps."

A [113]

5. Chine moderne, ou descr. hist., géogr. et litter. de ce vaste empire, Paris, 1853, Part 1, p. 168.

writes it, "Li-eurh-kou-yé," are named, among others, among the tributary peoples of the Ssan-ssin district. They are the Sakhalin Ainu, for "Laer, Laerch," or "Laer-mif," is the Gilyak name for Sakhalin (6), and "Koje" or "Kuyé" must, after what has been said, refer to the Ainu.

G [103] [101]

G [113]

6. Middendorff, too, heard the name

A 101 175 G 101 103 113

/129 cont./

6. (cont.)
"Laer" for Sakhalin among the Gilyak along the Sea of Okhotsk (see his travel report in the Bullet. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Part IV, p. 233; also Beitr. zur Kenntniss des Russ. Reichs, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 615).

000 G A 101 after what has been said, refer to the Ainu. The exact Gilyak designation for the Sakhalin Ainu would therefore be "Laer-kughi," which closely corresponds to the above name in the Chinese imperial geography (7). Just as the Ainu and Japanese

G A [101] [103] [114]

7. Might not perhaps also the name "Huyé," which, according to Du Halde (Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine, Vol. IV, p. 13), several persons in Peking wanted to give to the island of Sakhalin, and about which the Manchu sent to investigate it thought that it was not known to either the natives on the mainland or to those of the island, be only a distortion of the word Kughi or Kuă, that is, of the designation for one people of the island?

borrowed from the Gilyak the designation S'janta for the Goldi (and Olcha), so to the same people do the Manchu and Chinese owe their name for the Ainu. As we shall see later, along with the trade goods that the Gilyak traders carried back and forth between the Ainu and Japanese and the Manchu-Chinese they were also the middlemen among them for those tribal names.

A G [439]

Gi 101 175 [113]

/136 cont./

6. (cont.)
(Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po obshch. Geogr. Vol. IV, 1871, p. 399; the same, "Ussuriiskie Man'tszy /The Ussurie Man-dse/" (Izviestiia Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. VII, 1871, Sec. II, pp. 93, 123).

repeatedly designated for me by the Goldi on the Ussuri with the immediately recognizable name "Kăkar," but once also only quite generally and vaguely as "Lámuka" (sea dwellers). It is noteworthy that the former name is also customary among the Gilyak for the Orochi. During his stay among the Sakhalin Gilyak, Mamia Rinsô learned of a "Kiakkara" people, who were said to live on the mainland opposite (7), and later in

G Gi 101 175

7. "Tô-tats ki ko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 169).

Taba Bay, when he himself visited the mainland, he saw their vessels, which came from afar, he thought from the vicinity of Kôraĭ (Korea) (8). Among the Gilyak along the Sea of Okhotsk,

G Gi [114]

8. Op. cit., p. 171. Prompted by a fortuitous similarity of sound, Siebold attempts a far-fetched interpretation of this name by saying that "Kiak kara" reminds one of the Mountain Kirgiz, called Kara, that is, the Blacks (op. cit., p. 199).

Middendorff heard of a "Kjăchkal" people who were said to live along the Amur and beyond it (9). A Gilyak from Ytkyrn in the

G Gi [113]

9. Travel report in the Bull. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. IV, p. 235; Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 618.

Gi 101 /136 cont./ A Gilyak from Ytkyrn in the G [115] Tymy Valley, very well-versed for his means in the geography of the Amur region and who had undertaken many trading voyages to the mainland and was acquainted with the Ainu and Olcha languages, named for me, among other peoples on the continent already known to me, the "Kăkal," who were said to live along the seacoast to the south of de Castries /De-Kastri/ Bay. There has already been mentioned many times G [361] above a village located on the east coast of Sakhalin and at Gi present inhabited by Gilyak and in addition by Orok, which, [162] according to the former people, bears the Gilyak name of "Kăkr-wo" (10). A conjecture as to what circumstance is

G [192] 10. "Wo" means "village" in Gilyak.

responsible for this name is /137/ to be expressed later. If, however, we first continue to discuss the names Kăkal or Kăk(a)r, I would draw the conclusion from the fact that among the Gilyak it sounds just the same as among the Goldi and, with G. minor modification, also among the Manchu that the first Gi 101 borrowed it from the latter, and not vice versa. For along the 177 entire line from the Chongar to the sources of the Ussuri, the Goldi are the immediate neighbors of the Orochi, they have all kinds of associations and contacts with each other; I myself have repeatedly met Orochi passing through Goldi territory; between the Gilyak and the Orochi, on the other hand, there extends a large stretch of uninhabited land, and the contacts between these two G peoples can only be exceedingly few. Though the Gilyak in the [439] interests of trade often come down along the west coast of [484] Sakhalin as far as Ssiranussi, the deserted mainland coast, only very sparsely inhabited by Orochi, remains alien and unknown G. to them. The sea, too, becoming wider toward the south and Gi not freezing in the middle in winter, precludes any contact be- [133] tween the Orochi and the Sakhalin Gilyak living opposite them -- and, of course, to a greater extent the Ainu as well. Judging by those designations, then, the Gilyak seem to have first become acquainted with the Orochi through the Goldi. If one

Gi /140 cont./
101
175 The Olcha are lumped together with all their neighbors in the vaguest manner by the old Jesuit missionaries, who used the collective name of "Ketsching, Ketscheng," or "Ketscheng-tatse" to designate all the peoples along the lower Amur River from Dondon down to its mouth, and even the inhabitants of
G
[101] the coast which faces Sakhalin (2). The Manchurian name in the
[36]
Gi
[113]

2. Du Halde, Descr. de l'Emp. de la Chine et de la Tart. Chin., Vol. IV, pp. 7, 12, 13, and elsewhere. In the French spelling: "Ketching," etc.

1722 writing of the Chinese U-tschen (3) has a somewhat more

Gi
[113]

3. Translated by Wassilyev /Vasil'ev/: "Zap. o Ningutie /Notes on Ninguta/" (Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. XII, 1857, pp. 90-93).

limited and definite meaning and a more correct form: his "Cheidsin" or "Chādshen" people on the lower Amur does not extend as far as its mouth, where instead another people, the Fei-ja-cha (Gilyak) (4), has its habitation sites. It appears with

4. At least for the most part; see p. 210 above.

somewhat more precision, though still collective, in the imperial geography of the Tai-Tsing insofar as there, besides the Gilyak, the people on the coast, the Orochi, is mentioned under a special name (Kiyakla). Only, according to Ritter's translation (5),

5. Erdk. von Asien, Vol. III, p. 444.

we find it there, combined with the Chinese designation for the Tungusic peoples along the left tributaries of the lower Amur,
ooo as "Kiler-chadshi. Finally, in the listing of the peoples

Gi /142 cont./
101 and Giljaken," concerning which many pertinent and characteris-
114 tic details are given. We already know the former as the Gilyak
195 designation for the Goldi, and there can be no doubt but that "Orlik" refers to the Olcha. According to Iakinf's own statement (6),

6. Op. cit., p. 224, footnote (**).

since he himself had not visited the Amur, as is known, the above-mentioned description of it in his work was drawn up on the basis of accounts by Chinese traders and a Chinese /143/ topographical map. I must say that to me, judging by the peoples' names mentioned, this statement seems at least questionable. Recently, Middendorff has actually offered proof that those reports concerning the Amur did not come from Chinese sources at all, but from Russian ones, since Iakinf had relied on the handwritten report of the fugitive, Gurij Wassiljef, who, according to Ladyshenskij, was repeatedly in the Amur region between the years 1815 and 1826 and had navigated the river down to its mouth (1). Middendorff's

1. Middendorff, Reise, etc., Vol. IV, pp. 156 ff. Cf. also pp. 163, 164 above.

quite detailed information from Wassiljef's account puts the
G matter beyond any doubt. Judging by the names that the latter
● [101] gives to the lower Amur tribes, it can be seen immediately that he spent some time among the Gilyak and received from them various items of information concerning their closest and more distant neighbors, for "Jant," as has been mentioned several times, is the designation which the Gilyak give the Goldi and which up to this time and afterwards never appears in either Russian or Chinese reports on the Amur region (2). From this it can be

2. When Iakinf asserts that along the Amur below the mouth of the Ussuri there lived Tungus who were called "Jant" by the Russians, this is explained by the fact that

/143 cont./

Gi 101 114 175 G [101]

2. (cont.)
he himself drew on the statements of a Russian and so thought himself justified in making such an assertion. Nothing similar appears in Wassiljef's report, so far as Middendorff gives it.

presumed that the name "Orlik" or "Orlich," as Middendorff following Wassiljef, spells it, is of the same origin. In fact, I believe G [101] that it may be regarded as a distortion of the Gilyak designation "Orongr" or "Orongsch" for the Olcha, which is easily understood, coming from the mouth of a Russian fugitive (3). In spite of the

Gi [113] [231]

3. Sgibnef ("Amursk. Eksped." -- Drevn. i nov. Rossiia, Vol. III, 1878, p. 314) applies the name "Orlik" to the Goldi; strangely enough, however, he thinks that they were named this by the Manchu, for they greatly esteem eagles and frequently keep them in cages. "Orjol," dimin. "orlik," is, to be sure, the Russian word for "eagle," but by no means the Manchu or the Goldi word.

various names for the three peoples living along the lower Amur, Wassiljef still gives nothing with which to distinguish them from one another, be it in external habitus, way of life, or language. In fact, he even in part confuses their habitation areas when he has the Jant live only from the Ussuri to the Dondon River, the Orlik from there down to Zikdochi, which is said to lie above the mouth of the Gorin (4), and the Gilyak still farther down to the

4. At present no place with this or a similar name is found there.

mouth of the Amur. According to this demarcation, Wassiljef's Jant would be only the upper Goldi living above the Geong

Gi /148 cont./
101 do they have to do with the Amur peoples at all? In order to
114 explain the "Kordekke" of Mamia Rinsô one need only remember
175 that the Japanese substitute an r for the l sound, which they lack;
if one restores the latter and at the same time considers the
relationship between the k and g, he arrives at "Koldekke" and
"Goldekke" for that ethnic name. And also everything that has
been said above about the Kordekke on the basis of Mamia Rinsô's
report fits the Goldi.

Gi This correspondence in the designations for the Goldi on
101 the part of the Japanese and the Russians points to a common origin
174 for them. But what could this origin be? The obvious assumption
would be that they call themselves this. In fact, in answer to the
question as to who they were or what they were called, they re-
peatedly designated themselves to me as "Goldé." Nevertheless,
I do not mean to say that they also do this among themselves. This
G may be only a designation that they use when dealing with the
[101] Russians, just as the Gilyak call themselves Gilyak when dealing
with them, whereas among themselves, Nib(a)ch. Perhaps the
origin of this name should be sought somewhere else entirely.
G: In any case, Mamia Rinsô did not hear it from the Goldi, but
Gi from the Gilyak during his stay on Sakhalin. It remained foreign
101 to the Russians in the beginning, in the seventeenth century, when
175 they went downstream and visited the Goldi area; it was not until
174 they again occupied the Amur region in the fifties of our century
and advanced from the mouth of the Amur by first establishing
themselves among the Gilyak that the name Goldi appeared among
them for the former Natken and Atschanen. This situation sug-
G: gests the conjecture that the name Goldi /149/ in the Russian
Gi version and Kordekke in the Japanese version may be of Gilyak
101 origin. Now, to be sure, as has already often been mentioned (1).
174

1. See above, pp. 245, 303, 304.

the Gilyak designation for the Goldi is "Jant", but if one asks the Gilyak about the peoples living upstream from them along the Amur, they enumerate them in the following order: "Orongsch,

Gi 101 174 G [101] [174]

/149 cont./

Jant, Tscholdok or Tscholdoch (2), Manchu." Now since the

G [113]

2. Among the Gilyak on the Sea of Okhotsk, Middendorff also heard of a "Tschjoldŏ" people living on the Amur (see his travel report in the Bull. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. IV, p. 235; the same in the Beitr. Zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 618).

habitation sites of the Goldi are immediately adjacent to those of the Manchu, both the Jant and the Tscholdok fall to them, in that the former are evidently the lower Goldi, the latter the upper Goldi, perhaps reckoning from the Geong Range or from Dondon. From "Tscholdok," however, it seems to me, "Kordekke" in the Japanese version and "Goldi" in the Russian could easily have arisen. Just like the names "Janty" or "Anty" among some Russian writers (3) for the Goldi and "S'janta" or "Santan" among

3. Iakinf, according to Wassiljef; see above, p. 392 ff.

the Ainu and Japanese, so, too, may these designations for the same people, "Goldi" and "Kordekke," owe their origin to Gilyak mediation.

Gi 101 175 [184] Gi [13]

There is a causal connection between the frequently mentioned difference between the lower and the upper Goldi, which has even brought them different names from several sides, and the changes which have taken place in the historical period in the boundaries of their area of distribution. Whereas at present time the Goldi occupy a continuous territory which extends approximately from the Gorin mouth, up the Amur and the Ussuri almost to the sources of the latter, and into the Sungari region, this was not the case at the time when we first become acquainted with the Goldi. When Pojarkof /Poyarkov/ (1644), Chabarof /Khabarov/ (1651), and Stepanof (1655) undertook their bold

M. G 101 175

T 175 648 439 443 G [101] G [439] T [113] G 101 T 439 443

/174 cont./ Gilyak. For example, I often asked the latter about the peoples living upstream on the Amur, and they always named for me the "Jam-Manchu" beyond the Manchu. For a long time I did not know what people they meant by that. I now no longer doubt but that it is the Daur. Despite the prohibition of the Chinese government, Daur merchants from the sources of the Bureja or the Ssilimdshi come across the Jam-alin Mountains to Burukan on the Tugur (2), where at times Tungus from the Tugur and from the Sea of Okhotsk, Negda from the Amgunj, and Gilyak from the Amur appear for trade. In exchange for the always desired sable pelts, they obtain there from the Daur probably much the same commodities as from the Chinese on the Amur and naturally must have learned from them on occasion the role they play in the region beyond the Jam-alin, along the Bureja, Ssilimdshi, and the Dseja, down to the Amur: that they carry on all trade there, collect the tribute from the Birar and Manegir for the Chinese government, etc. (3). If one now considers that the Gilyak, as has been noted above (4), not infrequently designate both the Manchu and Chinese simply as "Manchu," though they distinguish them by nationality, it is quite understandable that they also

2. Cf. also the statements of an eyewitness, the priest Djatschkovskij, in Kosmin, in Zap. Gidrogr. Depart. Morsk. Minist., Part IV, p. 36.

3. Middendorff (Reise, etc., Vol. IV, p. 166, note 1) says that the Daur, impressing even the Yakut Trofim, described how they occupied a large city on the Amur where the river was blocked by means of a strong chain across it.

4. See p. 144.

G 101 /174 cont./ give the name "Jam-Manchu" to the Daur coming over from T [439] [443] the Jam Mountains, who play the same role beyond the latter as the "Manchu" do along the Amur. /175/ I do not know whether in addition, taking account of the difference in nationality, they T 101 439 443 have still another name for the Daur. It is said that among the Russian Tungus they are called "Djulú," among the Birar "Dahu-halj" (1) -- a designation in which one can easily recognize the name Dahur or Daur.

1. Middendorff, Reise, etc. Vol. IV, p. 1536. The Birar "halj" probably means the same as the Goldi and Manchurian "hala," tribe /Stamm/, kin group /Gesuhlecht/.

T 175 169 178 23 [648] As long as the Gogul and Daur were settled along the Amur, the Birar, Manegir, and Orochon were restricted to the Stanovoi mountain range and its southern slopes and spurs. In none of the reports from the time of the Russian invasion is there any mention of them from the Amur. Only through the departure of the former peoples from the Amur and thanks to the Chinese policy of permitting no sedentary population along the upper course of it did they gain open space to expand as far southward as the Amur and in part beyond it, as we learned above. As they advanced southward, other, Russian Tungusic tribes from the north advanced farther and farther into the southern spurs of the Stanovoi T [184] Range. The Birar and the Maneghir, in descending from their alpine homeland and reaching the low spurs and grassy prairies along the Bureja, the Ssilimdshi, and the Dseja, found it necessary to exchange their alpine domestic animal, the reindeer, for another riding and draft animal, the horse, whereas the Orochon in the mountainous upper course of the Amur retained their traditional reindeer. The same thing happened in Dauria, along the source rivers of the Amur, where, as Ritter expressed it (2), "Tungusic barbarians" moved into the area vacated by

2. Erdkunde von Asien, Vol. II, p. 323.

M
H.M /189 cont./ However
101 that may be, the name Nikan /190/ for the Chinese has, with
175 minor variations, penetrated to all the other Amur peoples
648 from the Manchu. I heard it in the lower Amur region among
G. the Goldi, Olcha, and Gilyak. To be sure, they ordinarily
Gi also call the Chinese merchants simply Manchu, but with more
[101] precise questioning they know very well how to indicate that
the former actually belong to another people subjugated by the
latter, which the Goldi and the Olcha named for me as the
"Nekan," the Gilyak sometimes "Neka" and "Nekagu" (1), at

1. Corresponding in form to the Gilyak names for the Negda, "Rdhy" and "Rdhyngu" (see p. 67 ff. above). Could it be that the suffix "gu" designates the collective idea, or means "people," like the Ainu "kur" or "gur"?

000 other times "Nenga" (2). Since the Manchu officials are

G.
Gi
114
101
113

2. As a curiosity and example of how fundamentally wrong and thoughtless the statements of hasty travelers may be at times when it is a matter of the name that a people gives itself, the remark by Gamof will serve ("Iz" putev. zamiet. astronoma, opredieliavsh. v" 1859g. miestn. rr. Amura i Usuri /From the Travel Notes of an Astronomer Who Determined the Location of the Amur and Ussuri Rivers/." -- Zap. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., 1862, Book I, Section on Research and Materials, p. 122), maintaining in all seriousness that the Goldi and Gilyak designated themselves with the name "Nikanzen." Peschtschurof /Peshchurov/ (Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil,, 1857, p. 304) speaks of "Nekanen" in what we called the civilized section of the Amur River without, it seems, realizing that there were Chinese.

H.M.
101
114
113

K
F.J. /192 cont./
101
439
K
192
[113]

3. (cont.)
of the Kamchatka Region/" (Poln. sobr. uchen. puteshestvii po Rossii, Vol. II, p. 49).

says the same, but more vaguely and evidently repeating Steller; according to him, however, Italmen needles are supposedly called "schischj," and, accordingly, the Japanese, "Schischaman." The following will show that this explanation is wrong and based on a misunderstanding. Names for the Japanese quite similar to those used by the Kamchadal are used by the Amur peoples, at least those on the island of Sakhalin and along the lower course of the Amur. The Gilyak on the mainland and on the island call them "Ssisam" (4), and the Olcha and Goldi, "Ssissa" (5).[2]

K
S.S.
F.J.
101
114
174
G
G1
[101]

G
175
113
101
F.J
101
648
175

4. Therefore, when in a handwritten document from 1744 found by Middendorff in the archives of Udskoi Ostrog there is mention of the "Ssysaizy," who are said to have destroyed a vessel in the mouth of the Amur (cf. his Reise in den äuss. Nord. etc., Vol. IV, p. 165), it is undoubtedly the Japanese who are being referred to by their Gilyak name transformed by the Russians. Middendorf himself, by the way, had heard the name "Ssissan" among the Gilyak along the Sea of Okhotsk, but he thought that it referred to the southern Kurile Islands (cf. Bull. de la cl. physico-math. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc., Vol. IV, p. 233; also Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. IX, Part 2, p. 615).

[2] [Footnote "(5)" appears on p. 409--Analyst]

2: Schrenck RX2 Gilyak RX2

101

102

103

131

133

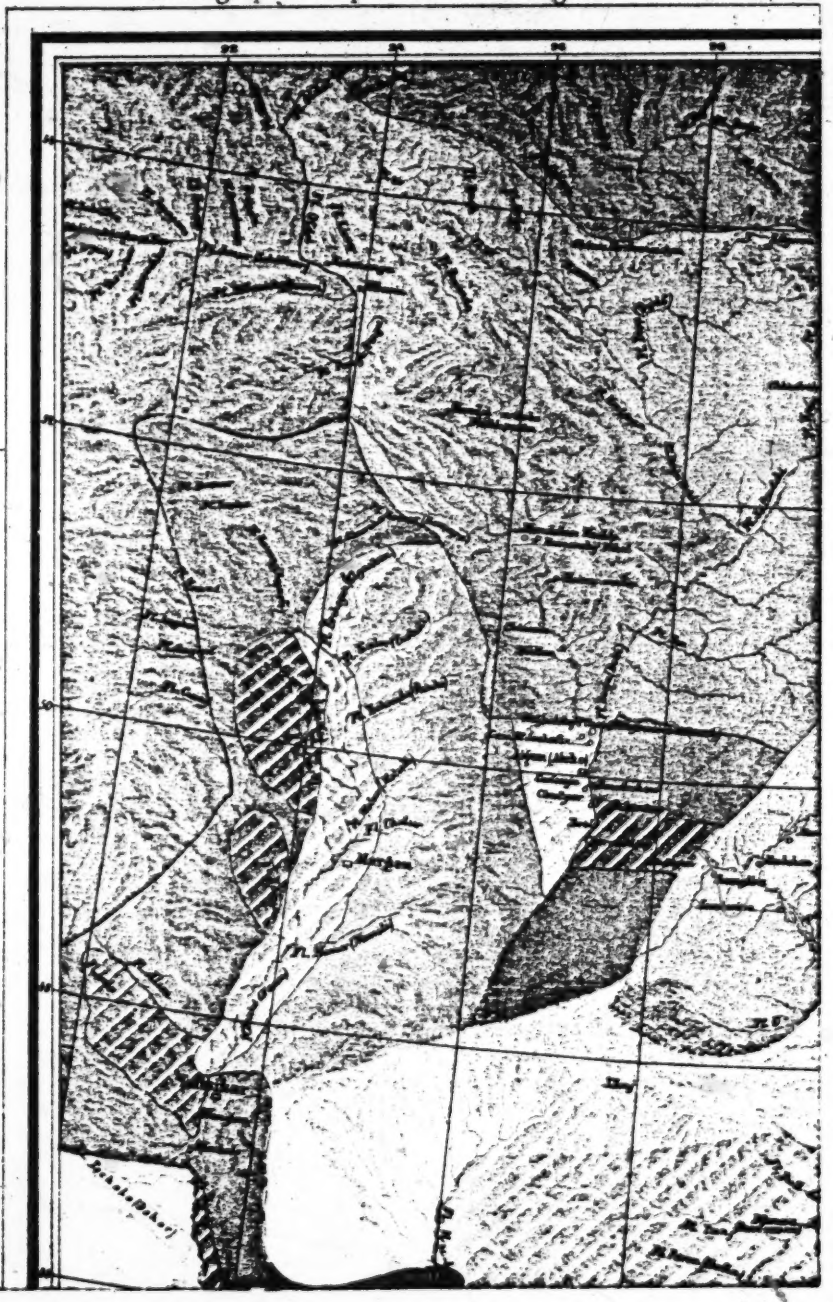
| | | |
|---|---|---|
| p. 418 | p. 419 | p. 420 |
| p. 421 | p. 422 | p. 423 |

Chart of Positions of Ethnographic Map of the Amur Region.
/facing p. 418/

2: Schrenck--418 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2



101
102
103
131
133

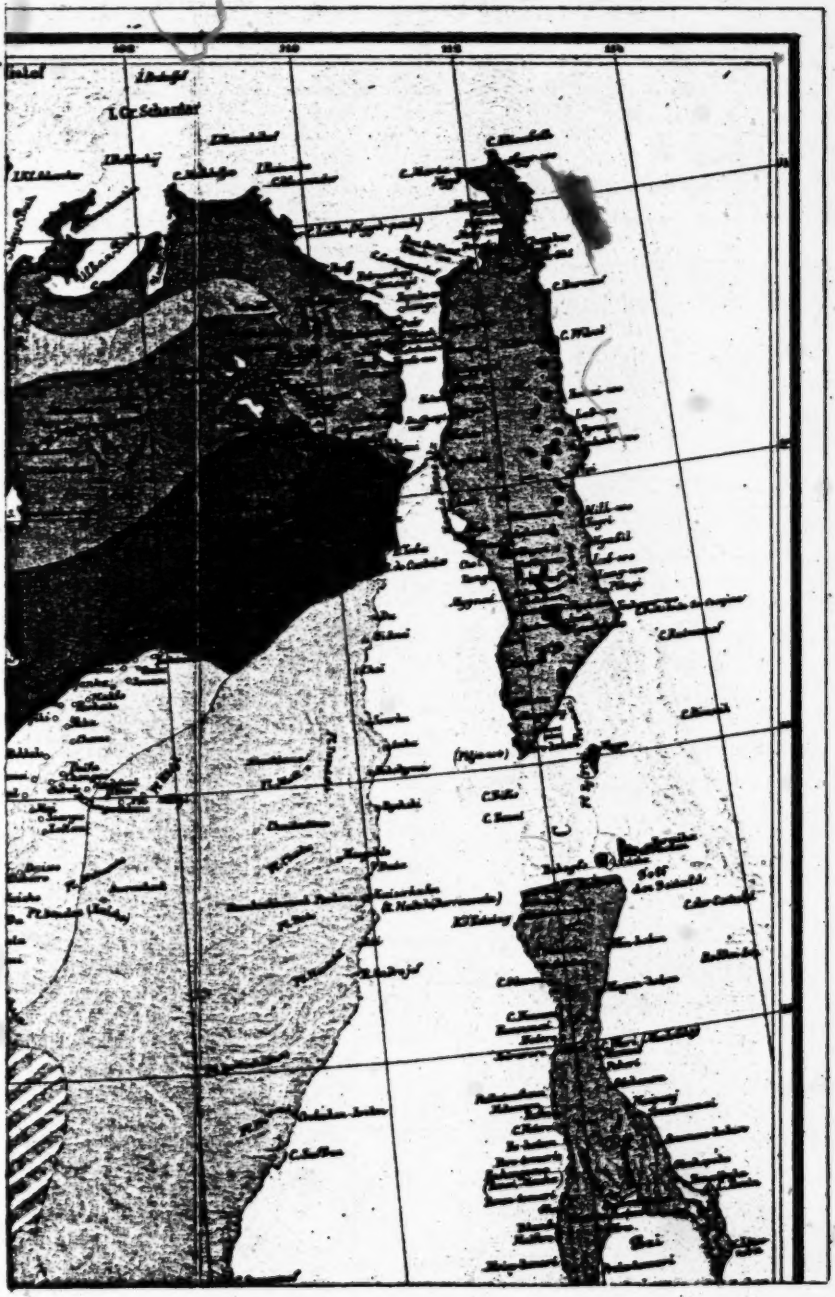


2: Schrenck--419 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

101
102
103
131
133

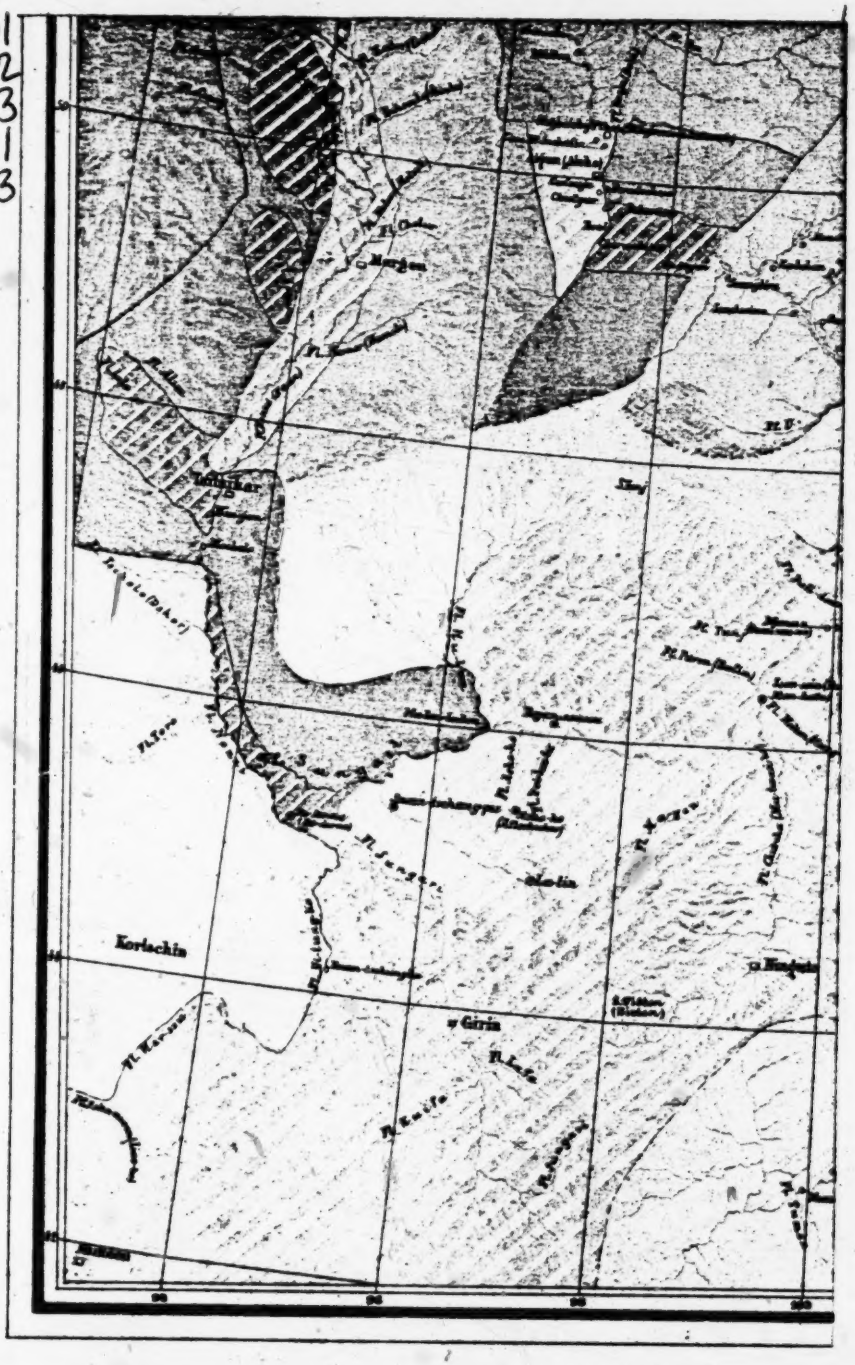
2:Schrenck--420 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

101
102
103
131
133

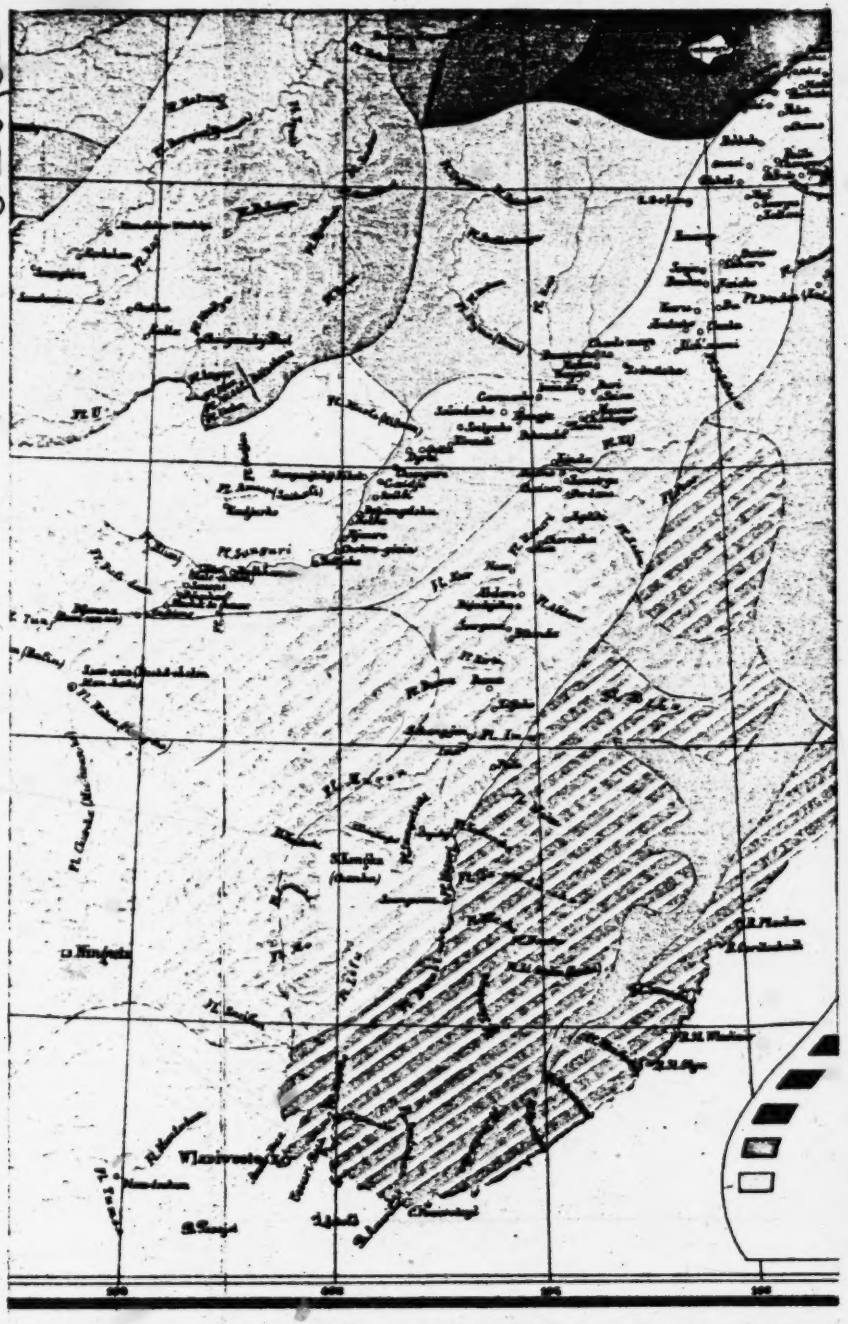


2:Schrenck--421 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

101
102
103
131
133



101
102
103
131
133

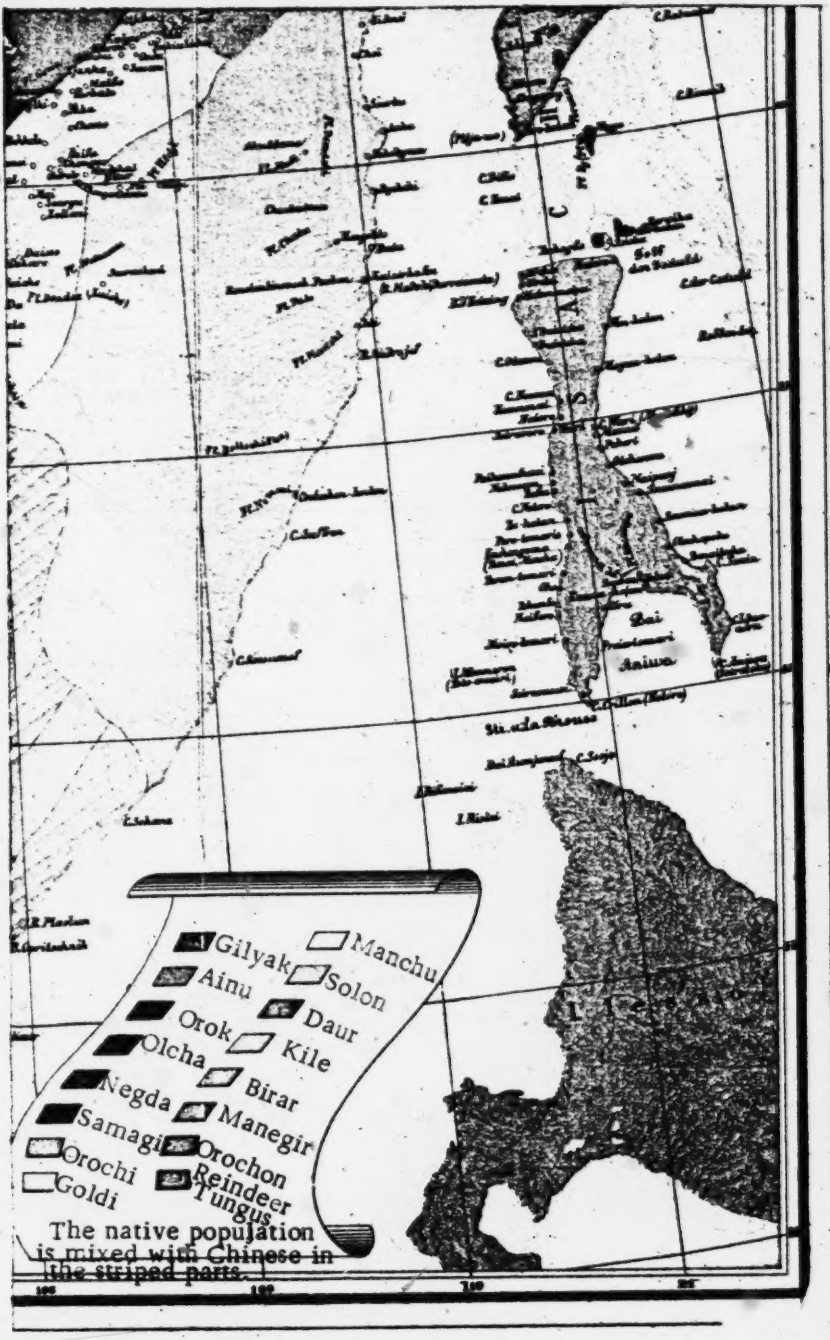


Scale: 100 versts to the inch

versts

2:Schrenck--423 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak RX2

101
102
103
131
133



SS /319 cont./
161 the number of villages clearly cannot be a yardstick for judging
114 the number of the population, because the villages are extremely
36 variable in size, and some of them, for example, consist of only one house (3). The single factor in which, lacking a direct

G
161
114

3. Although all the later statements concerning the number of persons of the indigenous peoples of the Amur region, which, as a consequence of the Russian occupation and colonization of it, must have undergone great changes, lie outside the scope of this work, I should like to mention one of these statements here in passing, because it refers, or is supposed to refer, especially to the Gilyak who are in the forefront of my considerations. I am referring to the estimate of their number (in the years 1878-1880) made by Dr. N. Seeland in his article, "Die Ghiljaken, eine ethnographische Skizze" (Russische Revue, ed. by Carl Röttger, Vol. XXI, St. Petersburg, 1882, p. 99). After he had considered the tax figures of the Russian ispravniks (district chiefs) for the mainland and with regard to Sakhalin questioned traveling fur traders, he came to the conclusion that "the whole Gilyak people amounts to 8,000 souls." The particulars of this total number, given according to the individual districts, explain its exceedingly large size, but at the same time make it absolutely untenable. For the number of the Gilyak of the Nikolayev District (from the seacoast up the Amur to Mariinsk), de Castries Bay, and Kaiserhafen is said to amount to about 4,000, the Gilyak in the Sofisk District (from Mariinsk to the Gorin) 1,000, and he estimates the number of Sakhalin Gilyak at about 3,000. According to this, Dr. Seeland includes as Gilyak

G
[113]

G
[162]

G
[101]

G
161
114
10

/319 cont./

3. (cont.)
not only all the Olcha, who are regarded as Gilyak by the ordinary Russian along the Amur as a rule and hence unfortunately very often by Russian travelers (see above, p. 213 ff and elsewhere), but also the Orochi of the seacoast from de Castries Bay to Kaiserhafen. How strange it must seem to one to find at the very beginning of an article supposedly dealing specifically with the Gilyak such a confusion of them with their neighboring tribes who are completely different linguistically and to some extent in their ways of life!

SS
161
114
361

count of the native population, a rather accurate yardstick for an approximate estimate of their strength might be found is the number of their winter dwellings, if this could be learned with certainty. One may easily convince himself of the correctness of

SS
[121]

this assertion with a more exact knowledge of how the dwellings are made among the Amur peoples. Let us now proceed to a consideration of this situation among the individual Amur peoples.

G
36
[226]
[225]

A people such as the Gilyak, who provide for the direct satisfaction of their needs with regard to food, clothing, etc. almost exclusively by fishing and seal-catching, understandably settle along the largest bodies of water with the most fish in their territory and as close as possible to the water. Hence, all the Gilyak villages lie directly on the Amur River and the Liman, along the seacoast or along the Tymy River, the main artery of the northern half of Sakhalin; one would seek them in vain in the mountains or /320/ at any distance from the waters named. A more or less favorable locality is always chosen as a place to live -- along the seacoast, a small bay or inlet protected by a rock ledge against the prevailing gales; along the river, a dry bank towering above the high-water level, but with sufficiently deep water for landing the boats, with high woods or dense brush for protection against the wintry snowstorms, etc. Wherever the locality is favorable in

/404 cont./

made and nevertheless cruder and poorer, weaving.

All the other peoples of the lower Amur region in general have the same clothing as the Gilyak. Nevertheless, to the extent that the natural conditions of the regions, the means of subsistence, and the principal occupations of the people differ, more or less conspicuous differences and peculiarities show up among them, in that other clothing materials gradually gain the upper hand, many an article of clothing no longer corresponding to the changed requirements will be modified or disappear, and, on the other hand, many a new one appear, etc.

The greatest, and in fact virtually complete, correspondence with the Gilyak in their clothing is shown by their nearest neighbors on the Amur River, the Olcha, who live under the same physical conditions and in the same manner as they do, chiefly by fishing and, in de Castries Bay, also by seal hunting, and, like the Gilyak, keep many dogs, as their sole domestic animal, for winter trade and intercourse with the neighboring peoples. During the long period of living beside and in part among the Gilyak, the Olcha adopted, among other things, the clothing of the latter completely, and every one of the garments described above, not excepting even the lynx cap so peculiarly Gilyak, as well as the implements customarily used for making them, is found identically among the Olcha and has an Olcha-Tungusic designation. Nevertheless, among the Olcha, especially in the upper part of their area of distribution, closer to the Samagir and Goldi borders, one sometimes comes across an article of clothing that came from the last-named peoples and is foreign to the Gilyak, such as a deer-leather or elk-leather robe, a boa made of musk-deer skins instead of squirrel tails, etc.

The situation is the same with regard to the clothing of the Negda on the Amgunj /Amgun/. When Middendorff, coming from the Tugur Tungus, visited them, everything gave him the impression, despite their language, differing only dialectally from the Siberian Tungus, "that he had come upon a new people": the shape and cut of the individual articles of clothing, the

175 /566 cont./ During his captivity in Siberia at the beginning of the previous
114 century, Strahlenberg was told that a people living at the mouth
411 of the Amur, the Kilani, whom the Russians call "Kilaki,"
326 "make excellent, fine weapons, and among them the best bows,
[10] and work in iron" (2) -- a report which was given so little credence

[113]

2. Ph. Joh. v. Strahlenberg, Das Nord- und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia /The Northern and Eastern Parts of Europe and Asia/, Stockholm, 1730, p. 386.

by a later traveler, Gmelin, chiefly no doubt on account of the indeed very strange linking of the Kilani with the Persian province of Gilan and the Awaren /Avar/ to it, that he felt obliged to question the very existence of such a people (3). Gmelin thought

3. See p. 203 above.

that if there were a people there which was especially distinguished by its weapons-making, all of Siberia must be filled with them, and these weapons would long since have been available, if not from the people themselves, at least through the
[531] Chinese (4). Nevertheless, the report which came to Strahlenberg's
[321]

4. J. G. Gmelin, Reise durch Sibirien, Göttingen, 1752, Vol. II, Preface.

attention more than one and a half centuries ago is now confirmed, for both the above-mentioned bows faced with buffalo horn and decorated with silver and the beautiful lances, spears, and knives with inlaid figures in copper, brass, and silver, which have no equal among any of the Siberian peoples, are of Gilyak
326 workmanship. If, however, these beautiful weapons were unknown
411 in Siberia in Gmelin's time, and even today scarcely go beyond
556 the Amur region, the reason lies, on the one hand, in the small quantity of metal available to the Gilyak, and on the other hand, and even more, in the high value which they themselves put on

Gi /658 cont./
648 Gilyak family customs and organization are constantly being
177 brought to the Olcha and in the course of time have taken root and spread in much the same form among them. Of course, they were bound to undergo certain modifications in their general
G character, in that they were transplanted in the soil of a very
Gi different people with respect to their natural disposition. The
157 Olcha, a branch of the large Tungus tribe spread over all of
[101] Siberia and the Amur region, are by nature much more kind-hearted, gentler, more pliable, more carefree, and more easy going than the Gilyak. They do not have the perseverance and energy of the latter, but, on the other hand, they are far from having their avariciousness, treacherousness, and vindictiveness.
G These original character traits of the Olcha, however, are like-
Gi wise undergoing change as a result of the assimilation of this
[177] people by the Gilyak -- and this has in part already taken place -- but they appear time and time again, and, among other things, also in their family relations.

G Among the Olcha, for instance, in addition to the gen-
Gi erally customary purchase of wives, there is also the abduction
648 of women, though by far not as frequent and usually, as among
Gi the Gilyak, primarily for the reason that, with more moderate
583 demands, they more readily come to terms in dealing with one
157 another and with their neighbors of the Tungus tribe, and that for abduction quick and decisive action is required, which is not in their nature, and, finally, probably also out of a natural love of peace and fear of the evil and bloody consequences that usually follow the abduction of a woman. Strangely enough, however, they most often carry it out exactly in the direction from where they can most expect lasting revenge, namely, among the Gilyak, either because they have the most active intercourse with these neighbors of theirs or because the Gilyak women have a special attraction for them, and, on the other hand, the high demands of the Gilyak for their daughters, especially if they are to go out of the country, often make a peaceful settlement impossible. In such cases, which the Gilyak often told me about, bloody conflicts are unavoidable, although they

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2

# THE NIVKHI

S. V. IVANOV, M. G. LEVIN and A. V. SMOLYAK

(based on data by A. M. Zolotarev)

## General Information

The Nivkhi live on the lower reaches of the Amur and adjacent areas, as well as on Sakhalin. They are sharply different in language from their neighbors, who speak languages of the Tunguso-Manchurian group, and belong to the so-called paleo-Asiatic peoples.

The name of the people derives from their name for themselves, Nivkh, or "man." They were known in Russian pre-Revolutionary literature as "Gilyaks." This word evidently derives from "Gileke" and "Gilyami," as the Nivkhi are called among Tunguso-Manchurian peoples.

The census of 1926-27 set the number of Nivkhi at 4076 persons (1700 on Soviet Sakhalin and 2376 on the continent). In addition, according to data in 1928, 111 Nivkhi lived in the formerly Japanese part of Sakhalin.

Thus, the Nivkhi consist of two groups territorially: the continental, or the Amur, group, and the Sakhalin group. The continental Nivkhi live along the Lower Amur, along the coast of the Amur Estuary, and in the adjoining areas along the Tatar Strait and the Sea of Okhotsk. On the Amur, the Nivkhi villages are interspersed among Russian and Negidal villages. The Nivkhi village farthest up the Amur is Pad; others are situated lower on the Amur and its estuary; in the south they reach as far as Cape Lazarev; the northernmost village in the estuary is Kul' (181 km from Nikolayevsk-on-the-Amur). Individual families live among the Ul'chi. In the past, some Nivkhi groups were found as far as the Uda River. In 1884, the well-known Russian traveler Middendorf encountered them on the Chumikan. In Sakhalin, the Nivkhi are living today both on the western and eastern coasts, as well as along the middle reaches of the Tym' River. On the western coast, their main mass is concentrated in the Rybnovskiy Rayon. In the Aleksandrovskiy and Shirokopadskiy Rayons there are only small groups of Nivkhi, who remained there after the resettlement of a large group in the Kirovskiy Rayon. The population of the latter is today almost entirely concentrated on one large collective farm, Chir-Unvd. On the eastern coast, the southernmost point is the village of Nyyvo; farther north, there are large villages, Dagi, Chayvo and Pil'tun, where the former residents of the tiny hamlets scattered along the coast have

4:Ivanov et al. E-4 (no date) 1964 RX2 Gilyak RX2



resettled. In southern Sakhalin, individual families live in the village of Taran, Poronayskiy Rayon.

Administratively, the Nivkhi territory belongs to Sakhalinskaya Oblast and the Nizhne-Amurskiy and Takhtinskiy Rayons of Khabarovskiy Kray.

The Nivkhi language is usually classed with the group of paleo-Asiatic languages. But among the languages of this group, it has a distinct place.

In its structure, the Nivkhi language belongs to the synthetic-agglutinative languages. The synthetic features are the fusion of the nominal and verbal elements (kkan—dog; pil'a-gan—big dog). The agglutinating features include the addition of affixes (kkan-gu—dogs). The phonetics of this language are very complex. The language has the following parts of speech: nouns, numerals, pronouns, verbs, and adverbs. The adjectives have many similarities with verbs. The Nivkhi numerals are interesting: in the Nivkhi language, there are no numerals common to all objects. Instead, there are various groups of numerals, for the counting of: 1) long objects (sticks, staffs, trees, plants, etc.); 2) small round objects; 3) large, round, cylindrical objects and objects of indefinite shape; 4) thin, flat objects; 5) animals and insects; 6) people and manlike spirits; 7) paired objects. For example, t'ig'r-n'ekh—one tree; k'u-n'ik—one bullet; tyv-n'akkr—one house; tamkh-n'rakh—one tobacco leaf; kkan-n'yn—one dog; nivkh-n'in—one person; mu-n'im—one boat; t'u-n'irsh—one sled; and n'a—one handbreadth, etc.

As a result of the Nivkhi's close ties with the Tunguso-Manchurian peoples, the Nivkhi language contains a large number of words in common with the languages of these peoples.

In the Lower Amur Basin, the Nivkhi are unquestionably old inhabitants. There are enough grounds to consider them the most direct descendants of the neolithic population of this territory. This population left behind numerous pits—marks of old dugouts of square or round shape, polished stone implements, and a special type of ceramic ware—flat bottomed, with spiral ornament. Such pits have been found both along the Amur and in Sakhalin. There are different points of view as to which is the older site of Nivkhi habitation—the Amur or Sakhalin. The well-known student of the Amur peoples, Academician L. Shrenk, held that Sakhalin was the original home of the Nivkhi, whence they spread to the continent. The opposite viewpoint was expressed by L. Ya. Shternberg, who insisted on the continental origin of the Nivkhi and their considerably later migration to Sakhalin. Historical data indicate a larger northward distribution of the Nivkhi along the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk in the past. It is also beyond question that the Nivkhi once lived farther up the Amur than they do today. According to Chinese sources, tribes of Chi-Lia-Mi lived on the lower reaches of the Amur in the 12th century; there is every reason to conclude that these were Gilyaks, or Nivkhi.

The first Russian data on the Nivkhi date to the 17th century. According to these data, the Nivkhi did not pay tribute to China. The first Russian to travel down to the mouth of the Amur was the "writing chief" Vasiliy Poyarkov (1643-1646). He was followed by Yerofey Khabarov, Ivan Nagiba, the boyar's son Pushchin, the official Stepanov and others. In the Cossack reports of the 17th century, both the Nivkhi and the Ul'chi are referred to as "Gilyak peasants." According to these reports, they lived in large villages in wooden winter houses, flanked by barns, racks for hanging fish and log structures for bears. The Nivkhi wore clothing of fishskins and animal pelts; they kept many dogs, engaged in fishing, and their diet consisted mainly of fish. They traded with the Chinese, Ainu and Tungus.

9: Hawes--164 T-3 (1901) 1903 Gilyak
116, 101, 178, 182

"The Gilyaks of Sakhalin, being descendants of pioneers who long ago left the 'Old country,' are more free-thinking than those of the elder clans on the Amur. Probably a closer intercourse and possibly intermarriages with the Ainus have also helped to modify their views. At any rate, one finds considerable divergence in practice from the old traditions, and many differences of custom and thought, not only between them and their Amur brethren, but between the Tim and Tro (1) Gilyaks and their brethren on the

1. The Tim Gilyaks are those living on the river Tim, while the Tro Gilyaks are settled at the mouth in the Bays of Ni, Nabil, and Chai.

west coast of the island."

115 [97] Since little has been published about the Gilyak up to the
121 present time, I took advantage of my visit of several years duration in the Amur country to study this small tribe somewhat more in detail. All races are of interest, not only in themselves, but because they furnish material for advanced scholarship. If the professional ethnologist should find something in this sketch which can be used for the purpose of such comparative study, it would give me great pleasure.

The material I present here is based largely on my own experiences and investigations, but in part it is based on notes which I gathered from those Russians who had frequently come in contact with the Gilyak. I was always careful to question several people about each subject, for the sake of greater accuracy. The statements, moreover, usually coincided. (1)

1. For my reports about the Gilyak on the island of Sakhalin, with whom I had little personal contact, I am largely indebted to a physician who lived there: Dr. A. Lebedev.

101 I. Geographical Distribution and Population.
131 The tribe of Gilyaks (2) which belongs to the Mongolian
182

2. The word is usually written "Giliak" but because the "g" is hard in pronunciation, I added the "h". [RCH: The author througout spells the word Ghiliakin.]

race lives partly on the island of Sakhalin, partly on the continent, in the coastal region of East Siberia, that is, on the lower Amur and on the sea coast around the mouth of this river, as well as on the De Kastri bay and the Kaiser bay. On the latter, the Gilyak are found only sparsely and more temporarily. On the island of Sakhalin they occupy the northern half, especially the Tym river valley, and the east and west coasts. In the summer they occupy one or another place, according to where fishing [98] is best; but in winter they always go back to their villages.

On the lower Amur the true Gilyak are to be found only as far as the village of Bogorodskoye, 150 versts up-stream from the city of Nikolayevsk. From Bogorodskoye up to the Amur tributary of Gorin, that is, from about 51 degrees north latitude, there lives a people that may be considered a cross between the Gilyak and the Goldi They call

101 themselves "Mangun" (1), sometimes also "Chedé". The
131
182

1. "Uni" means "river" in the language of the Goldi. The name "Amur" seems to have derived from the Goldian designation for water: mu.

former means "river people"; the latter, "the lower ones" The Russians regard them simply as Gilyak and know no other name. Beyond the Gorin, the Goldi begin to appear, but they are also found scattered among the Mangun-Gilyak. The latter differ from the Goldi in certain external characteristics and customs, and from the true Gilyak in their burial ceremonies and in their language which is nothing more than the somewhat modified language of the Goldi. Among these Mangun are to be found, here and there, some nomadic Orochon and Tungus or Sofiysk-Gilyak, as they are usually called in those parts (from the town of Sofiyskoye on the Amur).

On the river Amgun which flows into the Amur from the left side at the so-called Tyr, about 80 versts above Nikolayevsk live the so-called Negidal who are considered a mixed race of Gilyak and Tungus. They speak Tungus, and in their way of living rather resemble the Gilayk who do not, however, recognize them as kin.

The following is the picture: 1) The full-blooded Gilyak live on the island of Sakhalin (northern half), on the continental coast, and on the Amur as far as Bogorodskoye; but they fall into two sub-groups of which the island Gilyak differ from the continental ones only slightly in language and in the way in which they build their dwellings. 2) The second group are the Mangun who are probably a mixture between Gilyak and Goldi and who have little more than their language in common with the Goldi. 3) The third group of Negidal is no longer very closely related to the Gilyak and will therefore not be considered in this essay.

174 We do not know how long the Gilyak have occupied their present habitations [99], but we surmise that they came to the mainland from Sakhalin.

The Goldi consider themselves the original inhabitants of the Amur country, but among the Gilyak it is frequently assumed that they formerly all lived on the island of Sakhalin. And, as a matter of fact, if the opposite were the case, the Sakhalin-Gilyak would probably have brought along with them the more complete type of dwelling which is common on the

[378] Captain Jakobsen's Travels in the Region of the Gilyak and on Sakhalin Island.
Otto Genest (Gymnasium Teacher)

121 Jakobsen's first sojourn in the land of the Goldi (compare number 10 of the current volume of the periodical, p. 153 [see Goldi Source 18: Genest--Analyst] was followed by a trip into the territory of the Gilyak through which he had to pass in order to reach Nikolayevsk. He touched the same territory for a second time when on his return from Sakhalin Island, he started his journey up the Amur River towards the Ussuri and North Korea at the end of January 1885. Both times he had only a little time at his disposal: in September of 1884 he had to rush to get to Nikolayevsk as soon as possible in order to take advantage of an opportunity to cross over to Sakhalin; January 1885 he was pressing with all his power to conclude his activities since by force of circumstances he had lost so much time on Sakhalin that he was afraid of having to extend his travels too much if he should stop for a detailed study of the Gilyak. It is therefore understandable that his collections made in the territory of the Gilyak are far inferior to those made in the land of the Goldi as regards copiousness and variety. Also the information he was able to gather from his own observation or through his inquiries understandably gives only a hazy picture of the life and activities of this people. Unfortunately he only had little opportunity to become acquainted with the representatives of the Gilyak people living on Sakhalin Island and thus to fill the gaps of his account of this people. Nevertheless the entries in his diary present several things of interest, but expecially valuable is the fact that he was permitted to observe a bear festival in the Gilyak village Vaida above Nikolayevsk, the procedure of which he has described in great detail.

101 142 The Gilyak have been designated as Hyperboreans or Arctics by Rittich (1), as Northern Asiatics of uncertain

1. Die Ethnographie Russlands, supplementary issue 54 to Petermann's Mittheilungen, p. 19.

position within the system by Peschel (2). They are

2. Peschel-Kirchoff, Völkerkunde (5th

101 142 edition), p. 390 and note 7. Veniukov's observation that the language of the Gilyak is radically different from that of the Tungus is completely confirmed by Jakobsen. That is the reason for the wording of the text.

differentiated from the neighboring Goldi with regard to language whereas in biological make-up they are only slightly different from them. According to photographs that the traveller acquired on the spot and has brought with him, the beard growth of the Gilyak seems to be somewhat heavier than that of the Goldi, without however, reaching the thick-
101 ness of growth of the Ainu on Sakhalin Island. Originally they probably occupied the bank of the Amur up to the Gorin, while nowadays the southern boundary of their territory lies about 100 versts above Nikolayevsk and their former territory is now inhabited by the transitional people that we mentioned repeatedly in number 10 of this volume [see Goldi source 18: Genest--Analyst]. They occupy the northern part of Sakhalin Island but one will also encounter them among the Ainu in the southern part of the island where they probably came as laborers for the Japanese fishers (3) or

3. We will have more to say below about the Japanese fishers on Sakhalin Island. Jakobsen encountered Gilyak even on Aniva Bay.

361 563 166 226 231 233 for the purpose of hunting sable. Formerly their settlements were particularly numerous along the shallow shore of the island across from the mouth of the Amur. But these had [379] disappeared by the time Jakobsen passed along this stretch of shore because the Gilyak who used to live there had fled from the maltreatments of the convicts deported to Sakhalin Island. They had, however, established new settlements near their former residences, for the traveller observed a large number of boats the occupants of which were Gilyak engaged in fishing in the sound (1).

1. In all these boats there were also dogs which were set on land to pull the boats along whenever the wind was against the fishermen as well as whenever they were struggling against the strong north-south current that predominates in the Tatar Strait.

22: Knox T-2 (1866) 1870 Gilyak



frequent intervals with the evergreen pine, rivalled the October hues of our New England landscape. Hills and low mountains rose on both banks of the river and made a beautiful picture. The hills, covered with forest from base to summit, sloped gently to the water's edge or retreated here and there behind bits of green meadow. In the distance was a background of blue mountains glowing in sunshine or dark in shadow, and varying in outline as we moved slowly along. The river was ruffled only by the ripples of the current or the motion of our boat through the water. Just a year earlier I descended the Saint Lawrence from Lake Ontario to Quebec. I saw nothing on the great Canadian river that equaled the scenery of my first day's voyage on the Amoor.

Soon after leaving Nicolayevsk we met several loads of hay floating with the current to a market at the town. On the meadows along the river the grass is luxuriant, and hay requires only the labor of cutting and curing. During the day we passed several points where haymaking was in progress. Cutting was performed with an instrument resembling the short scythe used in America for cutting bushes. After it was dried, the hay was brought to the river bank on dray-like carts. An American hay wagon would have accomplished twice as much with equal labor.

The hay is like New England hay from natural meadows, and is delivered at Nicolayevsk for six or eight dollars a ton. Cattle and horses thrive upon it, if I may judge by the condition of the stock I saw. For its transportation two flat-bottomed boats are employed, and held about twelve feet apart by timbers. A floor on these timbers and over the boats serves to keep the hay dry. Men are stationed at both ends of the boats, and when once in the stream there is little to do beside floating with the current. A mile distant one of these barges appears like a haystack which an accident has set adrift.

We saw many Gilyak boats descending the river with the current or struggling to ascend it. The Gilyaks form the native population in this region and occupy thirty-nine vil-

1: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1954 RR1 Siberia
Goldi RX3
Gilyak RX2



Go

177 166 The Soviet authorities transferred the Udege from the isolated huts which were scattered over a wide area to larger compact settlements. This brought them within the range of medical attention and educational facilities. As a result of this contact with Soviet Russian culture, the young generation of the Udege now speak the Russian language 'almost without any accent'.[38] The next step in the development of the Udege will be that they will forget their own native tongue, and soon 'the last of the Udege' will really have disappeared.

## THE NIVKHI

Gi

131 161 101 Near the mouth of the Amur is the National District of the Nivkhi. They number just over 4,000, of whom 1,700 live in Northern Sakhalin, and the rest on the Soviet Far Eastern mainland and on three small islands lying off the mouth of the Amur. These islands, Udd, Langr and Kevost, were ignored by the Soviet authorities until 1936, when the famous Russian pilots Chkalov, Baidukov and Belyakov, landed on Udd Island during their trans-polar flight. From that moment the islands became very popular. They were renamed after the three pilots, [167] and it became almost a Russian patriotic duty to develop and colonize the little archipelago. The Soviet Far Eastern fishing industry established [228] a plant there, and Russian workers' settlements were built on both Chkalov and Baidukov Islands, which had previously been inhabited exclusively by Nivkhi.

186 798 The Nivkhi of the Asiatic continent are very conscious of the fact that, together with the Nivkhi of Northern Sakhalin, they form one single people. Accordingly, under pressure of persecution by the Soviet authorities in the late 'twenties', the Shamans of the mainland Nivkhi fled to their kinsmen on Sakhalin. But these Shamans only fell out of the frying-pan into the fire, because of the activities of the local anti-religious fanatics. In 1930 the League of Militant Godless in Northern Sakhalin even destroyed the Nivkhi cemetery in an attempt to cure the 'natives' of their religious prejudices. This action caused considerable unrest among the Nivkhi, who lodged a complaint with the authorities. The latter apparently condemned the 'left-wing excesses' of the Sakhalin atheists.[39]

634 161 In theory, the Sakhalin Nivkhi live in two National Districts, the 'Western Sakhalin National District', and the 'Eastern Sakhalin National District' which, together cover a large part of Northern Sakhalin. In point of fact, both National Districts have been completely fictitious right from the beginning of their existence. The so-called Western Sakhalin National District, for instance, had, in 1933, only a few hundred natives among its 17,000 inhabitants.